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National Identity and the European Union: case study of Brexit

(Master's Thesis)

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Author's Declaration

Herewith I declare that I have written the Master's Thesis on my own and I have cited all sources.

Prague, 23 June 2017

.....
Author's Signature

Acknowledgements

My most profound gratitude is to my mentor and his wonderful wife, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Huegli for their immense support and guidance through my period my studies and also to my

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Abstract

Just as the United States election, the Brexit happened and was a shock to the European Union and the world. While the world puzzled at this happening, this research intends to analyze and find a balance by studying the root-cause of the Brexit and what will be the likely effect of such move by the people. First, an evaluation will be carried out to show how EU/UK relationship has been over the years, this is to enable a general understanding of the origin of the British Euroscepticism towards the EU. After this has been achieved, the second step is to analyze the Brexit itself in order to make a sharp correlation between the origin of Euroscepticism and the Brexit.

However, with a focus on how to show if Brexit was clearly influenced by Nationalism, the main question of this research hangs on; is the Brexit a move influenced by nationalism? In an attempt to answer this question, the factors that influenced the Brexit will lead to a critical analysis of the organizations involved, and thereafter what the interpretation of British national identity implies as a result of Brexit.

Keywords

Academia

Brexit

Englanders

Englishness

Immigration

Integration

Institutions

Election

Sceptics

Nationalism

National Identity

Opposition

Post-structuralism

Referendum

Scepticism

Sovereignty

Structuralism

Vote

Xenophobia

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List of Abbreviations (Tables)

BCC – British Chambers of Commerce BCC – British Chambers of Commerce

CAP – Common Agricultural Policy

CBI – Confederation of British Industry

CCG – Clinical Commissioning Group

CDA – Content Discourse Analysis

CEOE – Confederation of Employer Organisations

CLA - Country Land and Business Association Limited

EC – European Community

ECSC – European Coal and Steel Community

EDM – Early Day Motion

EEAS – European External Action Service

EMI – Economic and Monetary Institution

EMU – Economic and Monetary Union

EP – European Parliament

ERM – European Rate Mechanism

EU – European Union

ETUC – European Trade Union Confederation

GP – General Practitioners

IGC – Intergovernmental Conference

ICTU – Irish Congress of Trade Unions

Lib-Dem – Liberal Democrat

LP – Labour Party

MEP – Member of European Parliament

MP – Member of Parliament

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

NHS – National Health Service

PCT – Primary Care Trusts

RMT – Maritime and Transport Workers

RCP – Royal College of Physicians

SEA – Single European Act

SP CR – Confederation of Industry of the Czech Republic

TTIP – Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership

UGT – Unions and the General Workers Unions

UK – United Kingdom

UKIP – United Kingdom Independence Party

U.S. – United States

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CAP – Common Agricultural Policy

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Table showing Brexit Argument

Introduction

Nationalism or National identity has become not just a topic of scholarly discourse today but also a discourse in almost every citizen of countries around the globe. The feeling of what is ours and who we are has never been so resounding and confrontational since the time of nationalist movement against colonialism in the mid and late 90s. Although what it is now is somewhat almost different from the true meaning of the word or what it means to have a nationalistic feeling. On this premise, this chapter will attempt to analyze the meaning of nationalism in the British context and also attempt to prove how this has affected their foreign policy relations with the European Union.

What can one say about the concept of British or English nationalism? Krishna Kumar gives a basic explanation of what being or having British national identity infers. He explains what it means by explaining that “in the nineteenth century, the character of English ethnicity is one that was more open and inclusive, incorporating other ethnicities as well”. And continues by adding that “the expansion of the empire, meant Englishness became an identity that could be applied to groups in other territories globally with the inclusion of non-white groups giving examples of New Zealanders and New Englanders” (Kumar, 2010: 469). This explanation gives the idea that what it means to be English can be felt and held by people of different race and religion. Young supports this assumption by adding that “outsiders and foreigners became the summation of what is English and attained the description of something made from afar (outside England) and became a global identity” (Young 2008: 3).

This brief definition then brings the question to mind; is Brexit a move solely driven by nationalism or a summation of other happenings in Europe and within the borders of the UK like the failing NHS, 2016 Europe migration crisis or a failed attempt to resurge the position of the UK in the EU. The idea is to identify the effects of such factors like the failing institutions, 2016 migration crisis and how it transforms Brexit. What role did nationalism play and how has it shaped the British society since the referendum, how has it shaped the UK/EU relationship, how did the political parties and other organizations that took part in the debate express their position and what impact has national arguments during the Brexit debate has in the UK? In order to answer these questions, a qualitative content analysis will be employed to identify how the different parties that participated in the debate used language to

shape their argument and how their postulations created a shared meaning in the minds of the citizens that later influenced the outcome of the Brexit referendum.

In line with the above arrangement, the first chapter will deal the meaning of national identity in the British context, explaining what it means to the British people, identify how it became relevant to the EU/UK relationship and how it has affected policies between them. The second chapter will deal with the Brexit itself, analysing how the parties involved presented their arguments, what issues were centre stage, , why did the U.K initiate it, who is leading the debate, what political party and what is their ideology and how does this affect Brexit? The third chapter will analyse other organisations that got involved in the debate and what their basic concern is. And lastly if national identity acted as a factor in the debate, how has it impacted the British society?

- Methodology and Theoretical Framework

The background of this research is based on poststructuralism. “The idea that being happens as a result of historical context that has evolved in a certain way and when observed shows the power and rivalry that it creates. And the purpose is to de-naturalize a social order that comes across to us as relatively natural”. The basic function of poststructuralism in the course of this research is to show how language shapes who we are, a structure of what we live in, that is how language structures the reality that we have (David, 2013).

The methodology of this paper is qualitative and comparative discuss analysis. The documents selected deals directly with Brexit before and during the referendum. This will allow the linkage of Euroscepticism to nationalism with attention on special themes. But the main theme of this analysis is mainly based on Wodaks’ “seven dimensions of works called Critical Discuss Analysis (CDA)”. In line with this concept, the research will focus on his explanation that gives credence to the use of “words, and sentences and the new basic units of analysis: texts, discourse, conversations, speech acts, or communicative events, with focus on the context of language use” (Wodak, 2016: 2-6). This will entail the selection of 30 documents (29 social media documents (Facebook updates, Twitter update and selected Youtube files about Brexit) and the official Brexit web page). The 29 documents will be analyzed in other to identify the specific languages (terms) used during the Brexit debate in other to identify the specific issues that dominated the Brexit debate. Then a comparative

analysis will be done between the identified issues and the official Brexit web page to find grounds of correlations between these documents.

This process will help to verify the theoretical which deals with identifying how parties involved in the Brexit debates used language to create a shared meaning in the minds of the British citizens and how did it affect the referendum result and what's the consequences for the British society. Basing the argument in the context of David Campbell's explanation of post-structuralism that "takes into account the process of abstraction, representation, and interpretation. Which deals with the politics of identity, giving attention to how language is employed to interpret identity". The research, however, takes its stand on the post-structuralist assumption of "language, reality, and performance with emphasis on the operations of disciplinary power, and the conceptions of subjectivity and identity to which it gives rise, take place within discourse, referring to a specific series of representations and practices through which meanings are produced, identities constituted, social relations established, and political and ethical outcomes made more or less possible" (Campbell 2013: 227-235). The importance of language and how it determines the structure of our existence (the house that we live in), our actions are guided by the meaning (language) we ascribe to things. This creates the understanding of British national identity attached to the language employed to describe EU/UK relationship by skeptics during the debates that determined the outcome of the referendum (Heidegger, 2010: 220). Other aspects of the theoretical background of this work will point to the example of Dong-Bae Lee's work that explains how political leaders use education (transfer of information/knowledge) to retain or sustain their hold on power, linking it to how scepticism and sceptics (UKIP) used information sharing to control and influence the referendum in their favour (Lee, 2010: 250)

To clearly determine the issues or topics of argument that preceded the Brexit a content analysis was carried out in conjunction with a comparative content analysis to determine the topics highlighted by sceptics in the discourse of Brexit, since the main aim of this paper is to determine if Brexit was based on just nationalism or a combination of other factors that will be discussed in the next chapter. On this premise, a comparison of the official web page of skeptics supporting Brexit and social media content was compared for complacency and identification of the language used and how this affected the result of the referendum. The main Brexit web page was analyzed, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube were analyzed. This selection was based on the following factors; topic relevance, scope, and range of influence.

Result: the result shows that of thirty documents analyzed, there was complacency and a strong nexus with the language used by leaders of the Brexit campaign and that of their audience (YouTube videos 10, Facebook pages 10, Twitter posts 9, plus the main Brexit web page). As a result, a total of 5.3 million views was generated and a total of eight Hundred and thirty-three thousand comments was generated, of which 87% of the comments support Brexit. And a total of 1.3 million (likes and dislikes) was generated and 83% again supports Brexit. The social media documents were compared to that of the official Brexit web page, the information matched 96%. The final outcome of the analysis identified how the arguments presented, paying attention to the use of language impacted the referendum. And the language connoted from the documents displayed to be xenophobic, with sometimes strong words like racism mostly when in reference to Muslims.

1. The Concept of Nationalism in the British Context

In this section, the basic explanation of what is English versus what is Britain will be explained to show how the idea of Brexit could be assumed to be a resurgence of the what is English. And this creates confusion as what is Britain is an inclusion of other ethnicities and perceived as a state without a particular nationality but a summation of different people. This fact will help to explain Brexit as a concept that stands against Britain as a nationality.

The above explanation clearly affirms that being British became an exportable character that soon had a presence in regions across the globe, with a little sense of originality and belonging. That is not to say that Britain had no cultural invention but that being British is beyond English. This is to say that Brexit according to the above explanation is somewhat a confusion as what is Britain is to be inclusive in a wider Europe and not a retreat which could limit the influence of the UK in Europe. This argument is supported by a study by Kumar, that explains that “a few improbable forms of English nationalism (Morris dancing, pageants) were invented at home by folk enthusiasts, by the end of the nineteenth century English nationalism could no longer be a set of internal cultural characteristics attached to a particular place, but a set of values which could be reproduced anywhere in the world”. He continues by saying that “this became so because of English imperialism (Kumar, 2010: 470).

This outline makes it odd to speak of the British nationalism as it is not concerned with the national character as that term is usually assumed. Kumar puts it straight by explaining that “the discourse on the national character in England is a vehicle for expressing political concerns of a more general kind, more particularly the propensity for liberty and the type of ‘public spirit’ developed by different political traditions” (Ibid:470). Drawing on this argument, it could then be assumed that the British membership of the EU was an extension of British imperial nature and Brexit a revolt against the limitation of the character of Britain in the EU as it lacked the sole ability to control the EU. This brings to mind the question, was British skepticism towards the EU a fight to reassert British influence in the EU?

To get around this question and find a balanced explanation of the British skeptic behavior towards Europe, it is important to bring Bhikkhu Parekh’s argument to the fore. “He explains that the so-called British national identity has been a case of agonized discussion in Britain since the early 1960s, and it is as a result of the loss of empire, the rise of welfare state, post-war black and Asian migration and more recently by the devolution of power to Scotland and

Wales” (Parekh, 2009: 254). However, this is to say that the origin of British skeptic behavior towards the EU started as a result of the frustration of the loss of influence (loss of empire) which it tried to consolidate by joining the EU to reassert her power and control but frustrated and became skeptic because it could not achieve her intention.

1.1. The influence of British nationalism on the EU

Following the above construct, it is, however, possible to trace the origin of the British national identity since the 1960s in regards to their policy position towards a united Europe. This position according to Parekh was favored by the right and was first displayed by Enoch Powell. He continues by adding that, “the British national identity had four essential and interrelated components that made it distinct from other members of the European Community”. First, “the advocacy of parliamentary sovereignty, meaning the House of Commons was ‘the personification of the people of Britain; its freedom from outside control is synonymous with their independence’”. Second, “Britain was molded as an individualist society that had always cherished the rights and liberties of the individual”. Third, “the British national identity was ground in and continuously fostered by the ethnic and ‘pre-political unity’ of the British people”. Fourth, “in the purview of the country’s geography and history; an island with its center of gravity located within itself” (Parekh, 2009: 9).

With the aforementioned facts, Powell established the fact that it would be suicidal for Britain to join Europe and backs his argument with the following facts. First, he says that “Britain was not a European nation, and its geographical contiguity to Europe was a contingent matter of little political and cultural significance”. Second, “its history had always been constituted within its own borders and on high seas”. Third, “its cultural, political, economic and other institutions, as well as its design of historical unfolding, were also distinguishable”. (Ibid: 9). These reasons gave Powell the impetus to conclude that the following reasons marked the difference in how the British nation-state perceive joining the European Community and how other members of the EC perceive it. (1) other members of the EC democratic institutions were of more recent origin and did not have deep historical roots (less attachment). (2) they had common continental experience (the effects of the Napoleonic wars). (3) a common social basis in peasant agriculture. (4) similar legal and administrative institutions with a shared common outlook on politics and society (Ibid: 10). It is on this basis that the Eurosceptic attitude of the United Kingdom was laid that matured to become Brexit. However, this study

intends to analyze the factors that finally triggered the call for the referendum that made Brexit a reality.

1.1.1. Defining British Policy Towards the EU

In an attempt to explain or find the roots of the British anti-European policy, Mark Corner explains that “the rise of British Euroscepticism can be delineated back to the end of Second World War. When Europe was still recovering from the impact of the war. The situation for Europe at the time was how to contain Germany and let it recover again without growing dangerous or becoming a threat to the peace the end of the war had brought. A preferable solution at the time was to allow it to recover the European auspices”. And this was most evident in Britain. What followed according to Forster, can be called “a 'first period', that emerged in Macmillan’s government, when the UK first applied to join the European Community in 1961. This period was preceded with a referendum in 1975” (Forster 2002: 3). At the beginning of this text, Parekh argued that the British nationalistic feeling emerged “as a result of the collapse of the British Empire” but Hall paints a strong picture, by arguing that “post-imperial crisis was one of the reasons, the British anti-European policy emerged during that period. Because this fact paved the ground for the rearrangement and restructuring of the British society and politics” (Parekh 2009: 256, Hall, 1979: 15–16).

Previously, in this text, Parekh’s explanation of what Powell explains as British push against the European Union paved the idea of what could be said to be the background of the British position towards the E.U. As outlined by Parekh, Margaret Thatcher’s position was similar to that of Powell’s view of British national identity but has one important difference. The difference can be said to be reactionary. He continues by saying first, “she stressed parliamentary sovereignty, individualism and the ethnic unity of the British people”. This first similarity had a little glitch as Margaret Thatcher was not open to the blacks and Asians and the concomitant cultural pluralism and posed the view that they can and should be assimilated into the British ‘stock’ and way of life”. Parekh continues by adding that “she was convinced that the British national character was ‘essentially different from the characters of people on the continent’ and that the country ‘has little resemblance to the rest of Europe” (Parekh, 2009; 260). The second similarity with her view and that of Powell is that she valued British membership of the European Community, partly to civilize the latter and partly to prevent it from becoming a federal state and posing a threat to vital British interest. These similarities

between Powell and Thatcher seem slightly controversial but the question is, could this be the basis for the long-term British disdain for a federal Europe? (Ibid; 10)

The first response to the above question lay in the fact that unlike Powell, she insisted that British 'character' and 'culture' were very similar to those of the United States and that Britain was bound to it by the closest ties of history, language and 'race'. As she puts it, all British problems in her lifetime had originated in Europe and their solutions had come from English-speaking nations. However, it can be said that Thatcher-like Powell was a British nationalist, but while his nationalism had an ethnic core, hers had a racial dimension; this marked the deep differences in their attitudes to the United States (Ibid: 10). Taking into account the roots and form the nationalist movement of Britain towards the European Community was formed, it is important to analyze how this played in British response towards EU policies over the years. However, there have been arguments by the overwhelming majority of scientists that say that the emergence of this happening took off in the 1980s, after Margaret Thatcher's Bruges Speech, giving rise to the European question (Forster 2002: 3).

A school of thought attempts to give an explanation from the 'party' perspective. This school focuses "on political parties as the source of the difficulties in Britain's relationship with the European Union" (Forster 2002: 4). The author argues that this problem lay in the attitude of the Labour or Conservative Party towards the EU. They are prepared to integrate, but their party ideologies (national programs or values), that they advocate, are opposite to the position of the European Union. They continue by saying that the main issues in contrast with policies of the European Union are defence policy, border control (while the parties advocate for national control of every member state borders, the EU advocates for free border), citizenship and money (this issue is like that of the border control), these factors can be said to be sensitive symbols of national sovereignty and can say to have real influences in the policy of the United Kingdom towards the European Union. But in reality, it can be seen that the UK's position towards issues with the European Union has an inter-party nature and that opposition has been debated and strategically orchestrated (Forster 2002: 4).

The third school of thought that offered a good explanation is called the 'institutionalist'. This school focuses their attention on the structural explanations as "the cause of Britain's problematic relationship with the formation and institutionalizing the integration project" (Forster 2002: 4). Scholars or advocates of this school, Stuart Wilks or Mark Aspinwall, states

that British political structures and majoritarian electoral system are the causes of the problem. They explain that the opposition and the government in Britain should be rivals, which is why their policies and attitudes should be different and in opposition to each other (Wilks in Forster 2002: 4; Aspinwall 2000: 415). This problematic leads to the formation of radical parties, such as UKIP, or extra party groups. These ideas bring an explanation about the decline of some parties and the flow of skepticism, but cannot offer explanations of British resistance of a Federation relating to European policies (Forster 2002: 5).

A new school of thought tries to explain the British challenge and according to Forster, they argue on the grounds of economy, based on the international political economy approach. The conclusion drawn from their study is that British economic structures are different and therefore is in opposition to European industrial models. This school's explanation goes beyond and differs from the political structure and elites, and it offers a new approach (Forster 2002: 5).

The next school of thought offers an explanation almost similar to the previous school but brings in a combination of two factors. They offer explanations that are based on the interplay between domestic and international factors, such as the decline of British hegemony, the concerns of domestic policy makers, national appeal, the activities of interest groups and economic trends (Gowland and Turner 2000: 7). Most of the challenges of the argument of this school of thought are that they lack systematic explanations for the role and influence of groups on governmental policy (Forster 2002: 6).

After much observation, it can be said that the different opinions offered by the schools of thought had a point of weakness but what it can assume is that every government took the issue from a specific standpoint. According to Forster, even though the government at the beginning of their regime seemed reluctant or had the ambition to pursue the European dream, after while they soon became opposed the idea (Forster, 2002: 6).

1.2. Policy Effects of the British Position Towards the EU

The first and earliest reflection or signs of British revolt against the EC as a governing policy can be noticed in the Conservative Party, during the leadership of Margaret Thatcher, her policy idea defined the 1980s in Britain. Her position according to Gifford is “a clear

ideological, economic and political break with the Keynesian-Beveridge settlement that revered the extension of the welfare state, full employment and state intervention at the center of British politics” (Gifford 2008: 84). According to Parekh, “Thatcher’s view of British national identity became the operative philosophy of her administration, giving her a sense of direction and “self-confidence as well as a body of non-negotiable convictions”. He continues by adding that She obviously could not deduce specific policies from it, for that depended on ‘contingent circumstances’, but it did help her decide what issues or aspects of a situation were significant, why and to what degree”. Parekh continues by adding that “she had the feeling that for more than one decade successive political leaders, pathetically ignorant of the national character and identity and victims of false self-consciousness, had misled the nation and passively presided over its decline”. This fuelled her determination to be different in policy (Parekh 2009: 260). According to Gifford, this policy position of Margaret Thatcher was aimed at revamping the economy of Britain and to pursue growth and regain power in Europe. (Gifford 2008: 84, 86).

Margaret Thatcher’s reign in office and control of government relating to the European Community and her policies can be phased into two periods. According to Forster, “the first period can be said to be that of European policy engagement, and this resulted into the signing of the Single European Act (SEA) in February 1986. After which Margaret Thatcher was fully considered by scholars and policy analysts as resisting European unity. She first introduced her resistive position towards the European Union during her Bruges speech on 20 September 1988” (Forster 2002: 63–64). The following paragraphs focus closely on this speech by analyzing its main points and describing its results. However, after Thatcher’s speech, this gave the opportunity for people and different groups to resist and actively oppose the Maastricht Treaty. There was a huge debate about the creation of Economic and Monetary Political Unions. This chapter will continue by analyzing the role of the opposition to both

Unions and the opportunities they presented, and explain how this shaped the British policy over time. Thatcher's reign in office ended but her Party still had control of Britain's political power.

The Bruges speech as said became the first transformation that gave rise to a new phase and approach of British disdain towards the European Community, characterized by the lack of interest in the European integration. Margaret started viewing UK's membership of the EU as a challenge to Britain's power. Before her speech, the oppositions of European integration focused on the anti-market position. According to Forster, "this transformed to a fight against the political and economic union" (Forster 2002: 63–65).

In her speech she argued that the "willing and active cooperation between independent sovereign states is the best way to build a successful European Community". This means that she started advocating that each government involved in the community should have the right to determine the length of their commitment towards it. That is to say that each state involved should be granted the privilege to determine and interpret treaties and can refuse any policy agreement that is not suitable to it. (Telegraph.co, 2008, Sep 19).

The first fact to notice about Margaret's speech, is the immediate opposition of the EC that had opened negotiations about closer integration that is fashioned like a federation. she perceived it as being against nationalism (as in the display of national might by different member states and concentrating power in one center) that is ripping states of their autonomy, which in turn makes states powerless. She assumed that this would have an immense consequence on the sovereignty of the states involved. She advocated that cooperation should exist, but the nation states involved should be the ones deciding on whom to align with in order to reach its policy goals.

Second, she became sceptic about the support of the people as the Community faced challenges because of failing policies. She displayed this position by saying that “the former Prime Minister stated that ‘if we cannot reform those Community policies which are patently wrong or ineffective and which are rightly causing public disquiet than we shall not get the public support for the Community’s future development’” (Telegraph.co, 2008, Sep 19). According to Forster, “she lacked confidence in the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) because of over-production and limited costs”. He continues by adding that “Thatcher’s attention was focused on the need to avoid protectionism and the need to encourage enterprise” (Forster 2002: 77).

The Bruges speech was seen by many scholars as a milestone in the development of British Euroscepticism both in terms of symbolism and objectivism, which could be seen as a nationalistic defence against the EC. Though not seen as a new concept in Britain, these arguments moved from the margins into the mainstream of British politics. This speech laid the groundwork for what became the confrontation of different parties and other groups for and against the idea of a centralized European system which was seen as a suppression of the national identity of member states of the EC. This laid to the foundation of sceptics in Britain as a stand for nationalism (Forster 2002: 77 – 78).

The Bruges speech immediately gained momentum and gradually spread like wildfire in the Conservative Party and amongst the public, to the extent that a group was created, called the Bruges Group by the Oxford undergraduate David Robertson, in February 1989. The purpose of this new movement was founded to further and promote Thatcher’s Bruges agenda and provide an organizational base for the ideas. The Bruges Group had a subsidiary, which was called Friends of the Bruges Group and consisted of MPs. This structure was seen as a small party within a party and its purpose was to publish reports and to gain support for Thatcher’s

ideas. On this premise, it became more like a policy engine that emulsified economic, territorial, and nationality towards the European Community (Forster 2002: 71; Economic Affairs 1989).

The speech did not waste much time also in taking center stage in the British society after it was made. First, the growing momentum Thatcher's idea gathered, gave recognition to the rightist anti-European Union movement. Second, this quickly caught the attention of the mainstream media. The weekly and weekend editions of the Times or the Telegraph gave a great deal of column space to anti-European Union writers. And further, this campaign soon caught the attention of scholars, who began to debate and to create an analytical framework. This only helped to garner a wider support network outside Parliament, and incited an intellectual debate and created an environment in which to advance the anti-European Union cause on a multidimensional front (Forster 2002: 72; Baker, 1998: 193–195).

1.3. How did the Maastricht Treaty Affect British Politics and Their reflection and Outcome?

The main pursuit of the Maastricht treaty as explained by Forster, “is the creation of a federal state (political union) with a common foreign and security policy”. But the leaders of Britain at the time did not welcome the idea as they viewed it as a giveaway of the UK's sovereignty which could lead to the displacement of the national identity of the states involved (Forster 2002: 93-94).

The focus of the political opposition mentioned above can be described as a situation where the UK's membership of the European Community now Union would make the British empire less important in the international political arena as it will subsume the British

political power into the union institutions. An example of is the creation of the Euros currency to replace national currencies of member states and the creation of a common justice institution. There by replacing this institutions in the countries of member states. Politicians that took stand against European Union blamed Major's government for giving into the submission of British sovereignty to the union. In addition, the critiques paid attention to the fact that the government lacked attention to details of the SEA because in reality British opt-outs were not as easy as they assumed it to be (Forster 2002: 93-94).

A group to consider that played an important role in the British anti-European policy, is a powerful organization, called The Fresh Start Group. It was founded by the Conservative peer Michael Spicer and had its origins in two EDMs - after the Danish referendum in 1992 about the Maastricht Treaty and after the British withdrawal from the ERM. The group had the sole purpose of mounting opposition against the Maastricht IGC with a secondary objective to secure a referendum on the treaty and the single currency. The Fresh Start Group was well organized, it had access to financial resources and had in place a strong intellectual base. They had frequent meetings to coordinate their opposition and drafted amendments to the EC Bill. The Fresh Start Group can be said to be a party within a party. This group constructed the base to parliament that paved a new platform for the British policy of opposition to the Maastricht treaty. The group went as far as they could go and played a significant role that hampered the government's activities, and took steps to prevent legislation from being acted upon regarding the European Union. And with the availability of independent funds, they changed the organizational face of anti-European Union groups in parliament (Forster 2002: 87-88, Gifford 2008: 130).

Another policy factor the British Parliament trolled on, was the social policy in Europe, the parliament sort to reduce it to the barest minimum. Thatcher argued in her speech and tried to

explain its' implication, by saying that "it is against the concept of free trade (Telegraph.co, 2008, Sep 19). According to Gifford, "the common market and political union or the fashioning of the European Union became like a federal state (Gifford 2008: 133). It is important to say that the Maastricht Treaty according to Forster, faced strong oppositions that rolled from the frame of politicians to the public. Although, it can be said that this is so because the issues dealt with were not just political but involved the life of the British citizens in its entirety. The treaty finally was passed and ratified because of the failure of both the Conservative and Labour parties to unite their powers (Forster 2002: 104).

For British politicians, the policy of a single currency was problematic because of the adopting of the Maastricht convergence criteria. There are three factors of this Treaty assisted the case of the growing opposition to the policy. First, the policy has some couple of pre-existing conditions that would lead to the creation of the EMU and all the stages required specific action from governments of member states. According to Forster, the main bone of contention for the opposition was that "Britain had been involved in a game of deception because her political leaders were cajoled into joining the EC", this provided the opportunity for the opposition groups of a federal Europe to monitor development and to publicly challenge it (Forster 2002: 108).

Second, Britain would have to consider opting-out of the ERM in 1992 and this brought about a near collapse of this system in 1993. The obliteration of the exchange mechanism wreaked havoc on Britain's economic reliability and cost the country about £4 billion in currency reserves. The government initially posited that the ERM membership would provide some form of leverage and that it would keep inflation under control and regulate the interest rates to the barest minimum. This assumption was in due course weakened and became a tool for politicians to utilize their power and influence to make the government policy on the Euro a

target for counter policy debate (Forster 2002: 108; Gifford 2008: 119). Third, the area of concern was the commitment of both the Labour and Conservative party to hold a referendum on the issue of the single currency. After much consideration, it can be opined, that this created an opportunity, that would aid the opposition of the policy to succeed as it gave them the chance to shift the issue from the political arena to a more public one, at a delicate time when the eradication of sterling was embraced (Forster 2002: 108–109).

The continuous opposition to the treaty came from different angles, creating a network system of opposition and counter-opposition that had four distinct characteristics: and can say to be partisan or non-partisan, anti-EMU or anti-EU. These groups worked tirelessly both in Parliament and outside of parliament. The opposition succeeded in creating a group at Oxford University, named ‘the Young Conservatives’, this group worked with academics and the public, by hosting campaigns against the Maastricht Treaty and the EC. Also, the different opposition movement garnered and built its influence on different media platforms. As explained in previous paragraphs, media outlets like The Sun, The Times and The Daily Telegraph tirelessly played a significant role in sustaining this drift. The movement enjoyed the continuous rise and support of scholars that readily made available; intellectual support for opposing the single currency. It became so critical that Margaret Thatcher joined one the emerging group's most notable groups, “... to provide informed but partisan criticism of government policy” (Forster 2002: 109 – 112; Gifford 2008: 120, 122, 125–126).

The purpose of this chapter was to explain the origin of British opposition against the concept of EC which later became the EU which as mentioned earlier originated as a result of the struggle to revamp the failed British empire. Although, it would be logical to say that Britain joined the union to revive her economy at the time, but the transforming nature of the EC became a threat to the Brits and felt staying in the union would trample on their political

space and national relevance. As soon as Thatcher started a revolt against it, it became topic that every government after her had to deal with. That is to say that every prime minister after Thatcher had to deal with the question of British membership of the EU until 2016 when Brexit happened.

2. Brexit: The use of language and Political Parties Involved During the Debate

To clearly determine the issues or topics of argument that preceded the Brexit a content analysis was carried out in conjunction with a comparative content analysis to determine the topics highlighted by sceptics in the discourse of Brexit, since the main aim of this paper is to determine if Brexit was based on just nationalism or a combination of other factors like national interest, failure of UK government, ignorance and misinformation, literacy, EU economic and financial crisis, British constitutional arrangement and global affairs. On this premise, a comparison of the official web page (voteleave.org) of UK citizens supporting Brexit and social media files (YouTube, Facebook and Twitter) content discussing Brexit was compared for complacency and identification of the language used and how this affected the response of the people that participated. And then what this language portrays in terms of nationalism or other factors that affects states economy, security and welfare of the people. The main Brexit web page was analysed, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube contents were analysed. This selection was based on the following factors; topic relevance, scope, and range of influence.

Result: the result shows that of thirty documents (YouTube videos 10, Facebook pages 10, Twitter posts 9, plus the main Brexit web page). As a result, a total of 5.3 million views was generated and a total of eight Hundred and thirty-three thousand comments was generated, of which 87% of the comments supports Brexit. And a total of 1.3 million (likes and dislikes) was generated and 83% again supports Brexit. The social media documents were compared to that of the official Brexit web page, the information matched 96%. However, this resulted in the classification of the following topics as the main issues that preceded the referendum that led to the Brexit; (1) institutional challenge, (2) economic challenge (this section will include

the European debt crisis and bureaucracy on the British economy), (3) immigration and security. The final outcome of the analysis identified how the arguments presented, paying attention to the use of language and how it impacted the reaction of the people by analysing contents dealing with Brexit (likes, dislikes, comments) on social media in an attempt to find the reason behind Brexit. And the language connoted from the documents displayed to be xenophobic, with sometimes strong words like racism mostly when in reference to Muslims.

The main document that guided the selection of the documents to be analysed was used to first identify the topics both parties campaigning for Brexit postulated and the social media files (YouTube) were used to confirm the topics and then also to show how the public reacted to the arguments. First, vote-leave supporters arguments portrays a more general move towards a politics of protest by an electorate that for more than 30 years has shown decreasing trust and engagement in traditional politics. On the part of political leaders, they were diplomatic in conveying arguments that forced the public to vote out during the referendum. The language used by this political elite, mainly MPs from UKIP portrayed fear and threats to the electorates by presenting assumptions that if they fail to achieve Brexit, life will become tougher. There were also instances where the language employed by politicians during the debate gave false hopes to the people and resulted in the xenophobic reactions that followed during the debates and after the referendum. For example, a statement made by the current environment secretary, Michael Gove, during the debates outlined that “Britain will get cheaper food by tearing down old trade barriers if they vote to leave the EU” (Jerome Starkey, 2017, Jun 17; Scott Arthur, 2016 Jun 8; YouTube.com, 2016, May 12; YouTube.com, 2015, Sep 17). A claim which he has recently debunked just a year after the debate.

Nigel Farage, the leader of the UKIP party that spearheaded the Brexit campaign, mostly presented the EU as undermining the political power of UK and depriving the British citizens access to a better life. Though, most arguments presented by him can be said to have mostly had a xenophobic effect on the people, therefore, forming a divide in the British society. His arguments can be said to be nationalistic as defined in the English sense above but with other arguments that diversified his position. He made use of words like, take back control of our borders, control immigration, make laws and political decisions for ourselves and so on. He advocated that all these facts mentioned above are not under British control and says that they

are controlled by the EU. Although, not true but could be said to have influence on the voters and also shows that the move for Brexit could no longer be explained from only the nationalist view (*YouTube.com*, 2014, Mar.26; *Facebook.com*, 2016, Jun 03). And was quick to resign after Brexit was achieved as that would make him avoid facing the people when they discover all arguments presented by him were lies. This is so argued because, during the referendum, communities that had a very little number (less than 1%) of EU migrants resonated the topic of immigration and were likely the most to want to leave the EU. For example, South Staffordshire in the West Midlands (Goodwin, 2016: 328). Farage in defending his position for a leave-vote continuously and deliberately uses words to connote fear and hope to the people of UK before and during the Brexit debate by calling the EU undemocratic, autocratic, lobbyist haven, number one reason for the decline of the UK and insecurity (*YouTube.com*, 2016, May 12; *YouTube.com*, 2015, Sep 17)

Another party that played a role during the Brexit debate, was the Liberal Democrats, led by Tim Farron. The party strongly supports Britain's membership of the European Union and continuously argued during the debate that leaving the EU is a bad decision and would lead to a decline in living standards, divide the society and Britain an outcast in Europe. The current report shows that during the just concluded British election, the party was still in high support of this position and offered to conduct another referendum if they win the majority (*McCaffrey*, 2017, May 17).

Despite his claim and campaign, the picture of a glooming future for the UK lacked credence because words chosen by parties supporting the vote leave campaign though not completely true, was painted by vote-leave supporters to show that voting to stay in the EU is a bad idea, by connecting the current bad security, economic and social condition of the UK as an occurrence that is as a result of their membership of the E.U. This example can be seen in one of the documents selected for analysis where while Farron was arguing that leaving would destabilise the UK economy and create chaos and racism. Vote-leave supporters like Farage claimed that the current and declining state of the UK is because of their membership of the EU, by using words like UK's failing economy is a reflection of the failing policies of the EU. In comparing the words of these two different campaigners to comments made by viewers on the document on YouTube, it shows how people reacted to the ideas postulated by both counterparts. An example of how the comments reflects words and images presented by leaders on viewers is shown in comments taken from one of the videos; "the progressive

leftist the same animals in Britain or U.S. they are the etiologic of fascism.” A second comment shows again the reflection of language drawn from the debate, “my girlfriend is Muslim, and she wonders why the EU allows criminals into the UK”. (*YouTube.com*, 2014, Mar 26).

From the above paragraph and argument, first it is noticeable that both in-vote and out-vote supporters (debaters) systematically influenced their audience by using the technic of presenting hope and fear which in turn can be said about how the audience responded with comments. While the out-vote in presenting arguments uses current happenings like the failing health system, unemployment, insecurity (terrorist attacks) as a consequence of uncontrolled immigration and the failing health system (NHS) as a result of the UK’s membership of the EU, which strongly shows how fear was used to portray arguments on why the UK should vote leave. And presented a brighter future for the UK because if they vote leave, they can control and improve the negative factors listed above and improve on the living conditions of the people. An example can be seen in documents like the main web page of the vote leave campaigners and other documents obtained like the following references (Scott Arthur, 2016 Jun 08, *YouTube.com*, 2016, Dec 05; *YouTube.com*, 2015, Sep 17; Slugger Toole, 2016, Sep 26). And when this mentioned files were compared with the social media files on Facebook and Twitter, they depict the same use of images, words and events to invent fear in the mind of their audience in order to cloud their judgement. Meanwhile, in comparing the above-mentioned documents with files on social media (Facebook and Twitter) discussing Brexit, it followed the same pattern mentioned above but with more emphasis on immigration and racism. Examples can be seen in the following references (*Facebook.com*, 2017, Nov 8; *Facebook.com*, 2017, Nov 9). After much comparison, evidence shows that Brexit shifts from what is defined on this research as British nationalism to what can be seen as a move backed by political confusion which is as a result of both internal and external conditions.

The Labour party joined forces with the Liberal Democrats during the campaign which put them on the side of supporting a ‘stronger in’ vote. This side of the game made them play important roles of debunking the claims made by the opposing parties but the result which is in favor of the skeptics showed that their input could not generate enough momentum to swing the referendum in their favor. However, it is important to note that the Labour party did not take their role of supporting the campaign to stay in the EU seriously as should be because

of their leader's attitude of rebuff when the leader of the Liberal Democrats asked for his and the party's support. This culminated in the confusion that members of the party encountered as they were unaware of the parties position before the referendum (Floyd, 2017, Jun 20; Europa.eu, 2017, May 02).

On the part of citizens, language used by them directly reflected their level of education, age, and information passed on by the political parties involved in the debates. This position is reflected in all of the documents analyzed. In most cases, citizens antagonized each other in terms of "liberal views against conservative views" as seen in the following files analysed (Facebook.com, 2017, Nov. 17; Twitter.com, 2016, Jun. 27). This resulted in the rise of xenophobia, creating the image of us and them, our country and rights and racism. For instance, Michael Farage, the leader of the skeptic party (UKIP), was often labeled as a racist. And where people with opposite view made comments, they were often referred to as "Libtards". An example can be seen in a comment made by a citizen on account of the position and statement made by Michael Farage in two different documents analysed; "NOT SO, they tried to brand him divisive and racist then found out how many British people they were insulting - people who saw he was telling the truth". "He's got my vote, we wouldn't even be discussing immigration if it wasn't for Farage". "Ray Tate, you cannot even bother to Google for it (whether Farage is "Britain's only Member of the European Parliament"). You show impressive ignorance by even thinking he is the only one" (YouTube.com, 2016, May 12; Thielemann, 2016: 141; Webb, 2017 Jun 8; Cowburn, 2016, May 31).

The above statements display how the information presented during the debates prior to the referendum affected the citizens, shows the position of the political parties involved, the level of ignorance about the issues discussed and reflects the result of the referendum. However, the reader is advised to note this point and identify this position in the following paragraphs that presents the main arguments of the Brexit.

2.1. Arguments and Result of the Referendum

The UK's decision according to report on Investopedia, "on June 23, 2016, referendum to leave the European Union (EU) is as follow. "Leave" won the referendum with 51.9% of the ballot, or 17.4 million votes; "Remain" received 48.1%, or 16.1 million. Turnout was 72.2%.

The results were tallied across the UK, but the overall result conceals stark regional differences: 53.4% of English voters supported Brexit, compared to just 38.0% of Scottish voters. Because England accounts for the vast majority of the UK's population, support there swayed the result in Brexit's favor. If the vote had only been conducted in Wales (where "Leave" also won), Scotland and Northern Ireland, Brexit would have received just 43.6% of the vote” (Investopedia, 2017 May 3). A study by Goodwin et al shows that this result “reflects age difference (as older people voted leave), level of education and qualification, regional differences, issues presented during the debate and how they were presented” (Goodwin, 2016: 326-329). This argument presented by Goodwin could not be supported completely by this research because the files analysed showed less in terms of age difference. And in the case of education and qualification, it did not matter as the audience showed evidence that their reactions were completely based on how the leaders of both sides of the campaign (vote-leave and in-vote) presented issues. After different sides presented their views and support about Brexit, their audience just re-echoed what they heard from the leaders as seen in the following references (YouTube.com, 2017, Feb. 27; YouTube.com, 2017 Feb 15; YouTube.com, 2015, Sep. 17; Twitter.com, 2016, April 29; Twitter.com, 2016, June 15; Twitter.com 2016, June 15).

After much analysis, the following table shows the connection between the media files as a representation and a continuation of the Brexit campaign activities by both sides (support and leave campaigners).

| Files | Response/connection | Language use | Complacency to what campaign leaders |
|--------------|----------------------------|---------------------|---|
| YouTube | 133,352 | Present | Yes |
| Facebook | Connects to YouTube | Present | Yes |
| Twitter | Connects to YouTube | Present | Yes |

Table showing total number of response to YouTube files and connection to other social media files.

In the above table, the logic is to show how the three social media files analysed connects the topics of the Brexit campaign. And there is a clear representation of what both sides of the Brexit leaders postulated about the UK relationship to the EU. However, it is important to note that only total number of response (likes, dislikes, and comments) on YouTube video

files were counted as it was files showing the actual campaign. Files from Facebook and Twitter were used to show how individual connected to the debates which was shown in files on YouTube campaign documents. First, is to show and determine what the campaign files talks about. That is, highlighting the issues presented by the vote-leave and vote-in sides of the Brexit campaign. The second, is to show how the audience related to the campaign by analysing how post on Facebook and Twitter correlates with the topics raised during the Brexit campaign. The following paragraphs and subchapters shows how this connection explained above made Brexit a reality.

There is a speculation by Ashcroft et al, that says “one of the causes of the Brexit can be explained from the mismatches between plural forms of culture, national identity and citizenship and these factors can help to explain the referendum result”. He expatiates on the first factor he claims to be a major problem of Brexit as “Cultural pluralism”. Backing it by saying that “Post-war non-white immigration is a challenge that some see as a threat to social cohesion and security” (Ashcroft, 2016: 355). This assumption made by Ashcroft as part of the reasons Brexit became a reality was found evident during the analysis of the files obtained for this research. The evidence can be seen on the webpage of the vote-leave campaigners that used strong words like “we’ll be in charge of our own borders”, “we can control immigration”, and if they vote-in “immigration will continue to be out of control” (*Whyvotetoleave.org*, 2017, Nov 02).

And then when compared with files obtained from YouTube, Facebook and twitter, there was clear proof that even politicians representing vote-leave made mention of UK’s membership of the EU as a challenge to nationalism (sovereignty). And it was presented as a problem not just to security but to employment, housing, and health care. But when checked from the point of view of UK citizens, comments and post made as a result of information obtained from campaigns for and debates about Brexit by both vote-leave and vote-in supporters, it became less nationalistic and more xenophobic and racist with Muslims, Asians and blacks as targets. This fact can be identified in the following references (*Twitter.com*, 2016, June 20; *Michael Burns*, 2016, June 20; *YouTube.com*, 2015, Sep. 17; *YouTube.com*, 2016, May 12; *Si Jeff*, 2016, Sept. 1) . At this point one can see that words chosen by leaders of the Brexit campaign and debate systematically made Brexit a reality as they preyed on the minds of the people by using fear and hope to sway their decision during the polls.

The second factor outlined here and supported by a study by Ashcroft, explains national identity as a challenge that led to the outcome of Brexit. According to him, “the emotive nature of nationalism, therefore, complicates debates over multiculturalism”. And continues by adding that “the issue of nationality can be seen in the different interpretation of what nationality mean to people in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland”. And concludes by saying “a sense of Englishness correlates more strongly with vote-leave groups than Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish identities do, and this may be linked to divergent views as to whether national identity is threatened by immigration”. And this according to him is expressed in the referendum result as more than 60 percent of Scots voted to stay. This can be seen in the documents analysed as immigration was treated as a threat to what is British as comments made by vote-leave became openly xenophobic and response to such comments by vote-in groups tend to counter vote-leave groups by saying what is British is a summation of different migrant culture into the UK from other territories around the globe. This shows that different understandings of the various national identities based in the UK are therefore part of the story of Brexit. This fact can be identified in the following file; *Facebook.com*, 2017, Nov. 10; *Facebook.com*, 2016, Jan. 20; *YouTube.com*, 2014, Mar.26; *YouTube.com* 2016, Jun. 24; Ashcroft, 2016: 356).

The third factor which is citizenship is multifaceted but played a big role in the referendum debates. The first consideration was on the topic of dual citizenship as a member of the EU supposedly means that British citizens became a wider citizen of Europe and could move freely within member states. While the leave-voters outlined the complexities of dual citizenship to the overall UK as a territory as they claimed it allowed citizens of other of poorer EU countries like Hungary could easily move to the UK to take advantage of the economic and welfare system of the UK, Putting into consideration the economic and political aspects of this factor and its valuable legal rights. This factor according to information obtained from the files played out in the referendum as it was repeatedly echoed by vote-leave. Many vote-in supporters were more likely to value the freedom of movement conferred by their EU citizenship (*YouTube.com*, 2016, Jun. 24; *YouTube.com*, 19 May 16; *Facebook.com*, 2017, Nov. 03). Further analysis shows that many leave-voters who want to limit immigration believe it has grave economic consequences for those who struggle to compete with high influx of people from other EU countries for jobs in the UK. This argument is seen in the following references (*Twitter.com*, 2016, Jun. 20; *Facebook.com*, 2017, Nov. 03; Ashcroft 2016, 356).

This argument is supported by Thielemann et al, who also identified that UK citizens had the conception that the “welfare state is threatened by immigration, even if in reality it seems the increased demands brought by immigrants are outweighed by their contributions. Meanwhile, less attention is given to their contributions which outweigh their demand” (Thielemann, 2016: 139). After careful analysis of the argument in this chapter and supported in a study by Ashcroft et al, it is important to say that, the arguments that followed the referendum should be considered separately. After considering different debates that preceded the Brexit, the findings show that leave-voters base their support for Brexit on a variety of factors, including the European debt crisis, immigration, terrorism and the perceived drag of Brussels' bureaucracy on the British economy and can be seen in the following file (YouTube.com, 2016, May 12). After considering the above argument and bringing to light specific events within the EU that affected the outcome of the referendum. The issues mentioned above will, however, be considered as follows, (1) institutional challenge, (2) economic challenge (this section will include the European debt crisis and bureaucracy on the British economy), (3) immigration and security.

2.2. Institutional Challenge

In addition, many who voted Leave were concerned about a loss of British political sovereignty and a lack of democratic responsiveness within EU institutions. The high-handed dismissal of these very real concerns by the Remain campaign and the EU itself was both unwarranted and counterproductive. Clearly, a significant number of people in the UK feel that the economic and political rights they take for granted as part of their British citizenship have been undermined by their status as citizens of the EU. Different evaluations of plural forms of citizenship were a crucial part of Brexit. This aspect of the argument can be understood from the institutional failure of the Union to deliver its expected promise during the time of its formulation and secondly, the EU as an institution is responsible for the weak state of domestic British institutions like the NHS and education, this argument is based on information obtained from the following file (Voteleavetakecontrol.org, 2017, Jun 20) A

study by Ashcroft et al does not necessarily see the EU at fault but rather views “the formation of British institutions as the cause for alarm. This is explained by postulating that “the United Kingdom should be fully federalized with a clear demarcation of powers between levels of government and a separate executive for each major federal unit” (Ashcroft, 2016: 357).

This challenge according to Ashcroft, affects the ‘English votes for English laws’ is subject to many of the same objections as English devolution, while showing additional constitutional and democratic problems. Political devolution should not stop at the borders of the nation but must move further downwards. We must re-empower local communities through more radical forms of democracy. For example, the crucial power to raise taxes—including an income tax— should be devolved to a much more local level. He continues by stressing that the issues such as the underfunding of the NHS and education that was a crucial argument during the referendum, is caused by this institutional gap within the British political system. Although, the author continues by saying that this challenge is due to the fact that the Westminster and EU pay attention (and perhaps reality) of pursuing the interests of wealthy financiers or metropolitan elites at the expense of their citizenry. This assumption shows to an extent how institutional management played a role in instigating the Brexit, but whether his argument against the failure of the EU institutions towards the citizens and local institutions would require a separate research (Ashcroft, 2016: 357; YouTube.com, 2016, May 12).

For British bureaucrats that support Brexit, mainly led by the UKIP, stressed the idea of the EU like heaven for politicians or bureaucrats because of its power without accountability devised to make sure that the great mass of the people could not control government (policy making in the EU). And views the EU going in the direction of dictatorship. This view takes the meaning of democracy into account and gives the opinion that the inability of the people to change or even know the bureaucrats running the EU and lack of transparency defeats the essence of democracy. An example was exerted from the fact that no EU citizen knows or understands how a commissioner is appointed in the EU or how its seven main institutions (European Council, the Council of the European Union, the Court of Justice of the EU, the European Commission and the European Parliament) work is not understandable to EU citizens. The argument went on to criticize the EU parliament for being worthless because no MP can initiate legislation, propose legislation or even repeal legislation and blames it on the undemocratic design of the EU parliament, this information can be obtained from the following references (<http://voteleavetakecontrol.org>, 2017, Jun 20; YouTube.com, 2016, May 7 12). This argument poses to be contradictory according to information on display about how the EU works in terms of law making and funding and budget. To begin with the four presidents of the EU (Europa.eu, 2017, May 11)

This overview of how the EU functions show that the British skeptics manipulated the public by putting forth wrong information to the ignorant public of how the EU as an institution is managed. Although, unfortunately, the ones that voted to leave the EU succeeded gives credence to the argument that information provided by Leave-vote campaigners preyed on literacy (level of knowledge of the EU by UK citizens) played a critical role during the debates and the referendum (voteleavetakecontrol.org, 2017, Jun 20).

The second issue that deals with the accountability of the EU, is the topic of expenditure. In this argument, the skeptics argued that the EU spends too much revenue on the management of its institutions and incurs an overhead cost, which is viewed as a waste of tax payer's money. And suggests that UK could do more for its people if they leave the EU and stop financing the institution. Example is seen on the publication of the official pro Brexit vote leave web page that reads, Vote Leave, "Why Vote Leave" with the claim that the UK could save £350 million per week, with claims that they can fund NHS, schools, and housing. In May 2016 the UK Statistics Authority, an independent public body, said "the figure is gross rather than net, is misleading and undermines trust in official statistics." A mid-June poll by Ipsos MORI, found that "47% of the country believed the claim". The day after the referendum Nigel Farage, denied the figure and said that 'he was not closely associated with Vote Leave. May has also declined to confirm Vote Leave's NHS promises since taking office (McCaffrey, 2017, May 17; Europa.eu, Jun 27).

To verify the claims made by the vote leave page and documentary videos on EU budget and expenditure, a study was made on the EU budget expenditure, which is readily made available on the official EU web page and it shows that the Commission, the Council, and Parliament all have a say in determining the size of the budget and how it is allocated. But it is the Commission that is responsible for spending. The EU countries and the Commission share responsibility for about 80% of the budget. The budget is decided jointly by the Commission, the Council, and Parliament. The Commission submits a draft to the Council and Parliament for their consideration. They can make changes; if they disagree, they have to work out a compromise. The ultimate responsibility for allocating the budget lies with the Commission. However, national governments manage about 80% of EU funds. To conclude this section of the argument, it is obvious that the EU functions as a democratic institution and do not undermine the rights and privileges of EU citizens. Although, skeptics around the EU territories play on the knowledge and literacy of the people whenever this topic of institution

management is mentioned, and this was the case during the debate and campaign for Brexit (Europa.eu, 2017, Jun 07).

2.3. Economic Challenge

The topic of countries economy was evident during the debate for Brexit. One major happening that negatively affected and granted credence to skeptics in the UK was the issue of economic migrants from other EU countries, stating that the presence and continuous inflow of migrant from other EU states increase the cost of social benefits paid to those EU citizens by the British government (voteleavetakecontrol.org, 2017 Jun, 20; YouTube.com, 2016, May 12).

A study by Steve Peers shows that the above argument is incorrect and is a fallacy as “the EU law on migration states that EU citizens can only migrate but must cover the cost of social service for the period of time he or she wishes to stay and can only have access to UK’s social services after the individual is employed by a company residing in the UK for at least one year”. According to Thielemann, “Even when considering the UK as a case apart, there is little evidence for a negative impact on the UK’s economy or welfare systems as a result of intra-EU migration. While a recent study by the Bank of England suggests that immigration into the UK’s highly flexible labour market has a small negative impact on overall wage levels—with this effect being more pronounced for unskilled workers—the bulk of the evidence shows that the effects of EU migrants on a number of indicators are either negligible or indeed beneficial” and continues by adding that “EEA migrants (EU countries plus an additional few members of the so-called European Economic Area), unlike non-EU immigrants, have consistently contributed more to the UK’s public coffers than they have taken out” (Thielemann, 2016: 141).

One major economic factor that holds water in arguing the negative impact of the economy as a result of the membership of the UK in the EU is the European debt crisis. The European debt crisis (often also referred to as the Eurozone crisis or the European sovereign debt crisis) is a multi-year debt crisis that has been taking place in the European Union since the end of 2009. It affected Greece, Portugal, Ireland, Spain, and Cyprus (Moghadam, 2014:11). This crisis was presented during the campaign on the vote-leave web page by stating that “we will have to keep bailing out the Euro if the UK remain in the EU” and also stating that “in the last ten years nearly two million people came to the UK from the EU, imagine what it will look

like when poorer countries join the EU”, making reference to Turkey (*Whyvotetakecontrol.org*, June 20, 2017; *YouTube.com*, 2016, May 12).

One of the effects of the crisis was a rise in unemployment that led to economic immigration of citizens of affected member states to non-affected member states, and while Moghadam suggests that “the successful intervention of the EU would lead to a closer integration of the region”, this became an area of concern for sceptics in the UK that added to the result of the Brexit (Moghadam, 2014: 11, (*Whyvotetakecontrol.org*, 20, 2017; *YouTube.com* 2016, May 12). The crisis had economic effects and labor market effects, with unemployment rates in Greece and Spain reaching 26.9%, and was blamed for subdued economic growth, not only for the entire euro zone but for the entire European Union. As a result, this fact can be argued to have had a major political impact on the ruling governments in 10 out of 19 eurozone countries, resulting in power shifts in Greece, Ireland, France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Slovenia, Slovakia, Belgium and the Netherlands, as well as outside of the euro zone, in the United Kingdom (*cbsnews.com*, 2013, July 01).

To show other ways the economic condition of both UK and the EU played out in the Brexit argument, was the issue of trade, with the official Brexit web page stating that the “EU stops Britain from signing trade deals with key allies like Australia or New Zealand, and growing economies like India, China or Brazil”. Promising that Brexit will guarantee new opportunities which mean more jobs for Brits. They continued by making reference to the debt crisis by adding that “being a member of the EU means the UK will keep bailing out the Euro whenever there is a financial crisis”. Although this information was manipulated as the public do not have an understanding of the workings of macroeconomics, it is undeniable how this fact was used to influence the outcome of the referendum (*YouTube.com*, 2015, Sep 17; *YouTube.com*, 2016, May 12; *Whyvotetakecontrol.org* 2017, Jun 20; *Pedro Bravo* 2016, Jun. 20; *Twitter.com*, 2016, Jun.20).

2.4. Immigration and Security

This part of the argument was intricate to the referendum as it played roles of nationalism, xenophobia, and security. Immigration has been a key driver of UKIP support, and according to Peers, “the issue was a sensitive one before the UK joined the EU, with immigration from

around the world, especially the non-white parts of the former British empire, regularly provoking political arguments and social tensions”. But according to documents analysed for this research, a significant impact on the UK’s EU membership is the free movement of EU citizens provided for by the EU treaties and legislation and not migration from former colonies of Britain. And it is important to say that, it does not entail, actually mean a ‘loss of control of British borders’ because the UK retains the right to check people at its borders, and can apply its own law to the large majority of EU and non-EU citizens. On that point, it should be noted that non-EU citizens make up much of the net migrants to the UK. Moreover, it should be stressed that this free movement, while generous compared to ordinary immigration laws, is not unlimited (YouTube.com, 2015, Sep 17; YouTube.com, 2016, May 12; Oliver, 2015: 84; Peers, 2016: 247).

The official Brexit web page stated and cited some facts regarding immigration. They highlighted that voting Brexit will give the UK the ability to take control of its borders; “in a word with so new threats, it’s safer to control our own borders and decide for ourselves who can come into this country not be overruled by the EU judges”. This states that the EU has more control over the sovereignty of the UK, suggesting a loss of territorial control and Brexit will give back to the Brits the ability to be sovereign again. They continue by citing that they have no control over immigration by saying Brexit would give the UK the chance to have a fairer system which welcomes people to the UK based on the skills they have, and not the passport they hold. They continue by adding that “nearly two million people came to the UK from the EU over the last ten years and will be worse in future decades when new poorer countries join”, making reference to the applicant status of membership of Turkey to the EU (*Whyvotetoleave.org*, Jun 20, 2017; *Scott Arthur*, 2016, Jun 08; *YouTube.com*, 2017, May 17; *YouTube.com*, 2015, Sep 17).

As highlighted by Thielemann, studies of Several “YouGov polls suggest that migration is a concern not only for the country’s government but equally for its citizens. Migration is constantly listed as the most important issue facing the nation, and the issues of intra-EU border control and EU access to benefits were the most important issues that citizens wanted to see addressed in the renegotiation of the UK’s relationship with the EU. And continues by saying that it has been shown that sceptical attitudes toward immigration and toward the EU are more closely linked than ever” (Thielemann, 2016: 139). And supplemented this fact by saying same studies also shows that The UK is part of a broader trend of such increases, with

countries like Belgium and Sweden equally affected. Adding that, none of this compares to the very rapid rise in the proportion of foreigners that Spain experienced in only five years up to the height of the euro crisis. He concluded by pointing to the UN Population Division data which shows that the development in the UK is very similar to that experienced by other developed English-speaking countries such as Canada, Australia and the US (Thielemann, 2016: 142).

First, it is important to note that the above fact presented agrees that there is evidence of intra-EU immigration but the fact of how this affects the UK in terms of welfare and social benefits is explained by Peers. His explanation shows that the argument presented above by skeptics were completely fallacious and does hold water. He shows that while EU citizens are allowed to move in and out of the UK, they have no access to welfare and social system, and can only reside in the UK territory for only three months with evidence of self-funding, after which they have to evacuate if they cannot find employment. And this applies to a former worker who no longer possesses the status of the worker. And states that EU citizens can only enjoy social benefits after residing in the UK for five years. On the topic of security, he continues by making reference to article of EU that states that “As for EU citizens or their family members who may be a threat to security, the Citizens’ Directive allows for expulsion, entry bans or refusal of entry for those who are a threat to ‘public policy, public security or public health’ and adds that It is also possible to expel EU citizens on grounds that they rely on social assistance but must be investigated before such decision is made (Arts 27–33, 14(3) and (4))” (Peers, 2016: 248-249).

Same on the issue of migration and security, Peers notes that the “UK opt-out of the laws on non-EU immigration and asylum which began with the entry into force of the Treaty of Amsterdam on 1 May 1999. And only opt into those parts of the Schengen rules (mainly concerning criminal law and exchange of policing information)”. He continues by stating that “in practice, the UK has opted out of EU laws governing visas and border controls, because they are closely linked to the Schengen rules, it has also opted out of EU laws governing legal migration, which set common minimum rules on family reunion, labour migration, admission of students and researchers and acquisition of long-term residence by non-EU citizens” (Peers, 2016: 249).

On the topic of internal security, the UK as noted by Peers also has special areas it opted in and out of. One major aspect of this is the area of information sharing. He concluded by

saying the UK has opted out of almost all EU substantive criminal law. In concluding this chapter on this research, after much consideration of the arguments presented by sceptics concerning immigration and security, it becomes clear that while this topic centred the argument that shaped the referendum, there were misconception regarding the topic as evidence shows that the EU is not guilty of the challenges posed to the UK and has no influence on the social system, security and living standards of the UK. The next chapter will review the different organizations that participated and helped make Brexit a reality.

3. Organizations Involved in the Brexit Debate

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the different organizations that were involved either indirectly as a topic of contention or directly as an area affected as a result of British membership of the EU. In this regard, the documents selected as stated in the methodology of this research was analysed to identify possibly, the organisations that played significant roles during the debate and the following result was obtained; the media, the National Health Service (NHS), academia, and agricultural associations. These organisations were selected as they were continuously mentioned and were key aspects of the debate and campaign. First, the media played key role (news and new media) as it acted as the platform for campaign and debate. An example is the organisation of debate between vote-leave and vote-in supporters on BBC and ITVNesws and the role of Facebook and Twitter as a platform were supporters reposted topics presented by political leaders of their support. YouTube also as a platform was instrumental as both vote-leave and vote-in supporters posted video files supporting their claim and stand during Brexit campaign. Second, the NHS was a key point of argument of vote-leave group as they continuously mentioned the failing and low capacity nature of the NHS as a result of the UK's membership of the EU. Also by relating the inability of the NHS to fully supply services to UK citizens when needed due to overcrowding which is again faulted on the UK's membership of the EU during the debates and campaign for Brexit. The academia also was used as a point during the debates by vote-in supporters mostly. Their argument was pointing to the fact that the UK will become an undesirable for young people with study motive as Brexit if achieved will present the UK as a nation that hates migrants. Lastly, agricultural organisation was mentioned as it affects the price of food and it was mentioned many times that the rising cost of food is as a result of the EU (YouTube.com, 2016 May 12; Facebook.com, 2015, Sep 17; *Whyvoteleavetakecontrol.org*, 2017, Jun 20).

It is important to note that this specific organisations are selected as it connects to the previous chapter but here it shows how these issues was presented discussed and used to cajole the vote of the people. And also the use of these organisations to strengthen their position for Brexit during the campaign helped to make Brexit a reality that is based not on nationalism alone. The media only is mentioned as it acted as the platform were both vote-leave and vote-in carried out their campaign and debate.

3.1. The Media: New Media and News Media

In this regard, the role of the media as suggested by in the above paragraph cannot be over emphasized. As the media, according to the files analysed for the purpose of this research proved that it acted as a platform for both vote-leave and vote-in campaigners used the media to express their frustration. In this regard, UKIPs' success in achieving an out vote was due in part possible because of the media. A study by Oliver supports this argument by pointing "to the efforts of the section under Murdoch ownership, which champions the leadership by transforming 'a long established and not intrinsically unhealthy British suspicion of 'things continental' into an alarmist call to arms against "Europe" through tabloid sensationalization and scare stories about the 'Brussels' effect on everyday life in Britain". He concludes by arguing "that a press having low sales may likely embrace such populist (UKIP) agendas and disregard to whatever the result of a referendum might be" (Oliver, 2015: 84).

This argument although gives credence to the media but lack a bit substance as he failed to pay attention to how the media was utilized by both vote-leave and vote-in campaigners. The media acted as a platform for both groups to express their concerns. Studies shows that the media acted neutral as messages conveyed by both groups was not censored. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) organized and televised debates campaigns during the Brexit debates. Social media platforms like Facebook and YouTube became the market place where both the ignorant and misinformed bought and sold information about relations between the UK and the EU. For example, just ten documents obtained from YouTube for the purpose of this study generated a total of 4.6 million views. With 8 of the document conveying negative and wrong information about the EU.

What is most surprising is how the sceptics greatly employed the use of the media to spread their messages and campaign, mean while 'studies conducted during the course of this research shows that supporters of UK's membership of the EU and the EU did little to use the media to debunk false claims made by sceptic groups', and this fact is seen in the Brexit web page and files obtained from YouTube. Although the news media only aired what they were told to and in cases targeted patronage by sceptics for profit making purpose. This argument shows the position of the media during the campaign and debates and it is important to note

that the efforts of the media impacted the referendum results a great deal (whyvoteleavetakecontrol.org, 2017 June 20; YouTube.com, 2016, May 12; YouTube.com, 2015, Sep 17). It is important to note that the British media sustained a neutral position during the debate and campaign for Brexit. They only published and aired programs sponsored by both sides of the Brexit campaign

3.2. The National Health Service

An organisation that was continuously mentioned played during the debate and campaign for Brexit is the National Health Service (NHS). The NHS is the publicly funded national healthcare system for England and one of the four national health services of the United Kingdom. The NHS is made up of Primary Care Trusts (PCTs). The major challenge facing these groups affiliated to the NHS is that of financing and funds control. The issue of funding played out during the campaign for Brexit (see chapter two for explanation). The major question here is to display how medical associations responded and how this factor affected the referendum (*BBC.com*, 2015, May 12; *Whyvoteleavetakecontrol.org*, 2017, Jun 20).

It is important to note that in the course of analysing the documents, when institutions were mentioned, the immigration of foreigners to the UK (EU and non-EU citizens) was often mentioned as the challenge and assumption was made that the UK could improve the NHS if they vote-leave. This rhetoric was mentioned side-by-side with immigration and UK's funding of the EU (*YouTube.com*, 2014, Mar14; *Whyvoteleavetakecontrol.org*, 2017 June 20).

The political elite involved in the debate for a leave vote strategically harnessed the fear and frustration of the people in this respect by blaming UK's membership of the EU as the reason for lack of NHS facility to accommodate and attend to patients as there is always overcrowding at the hospitals. In return the citizens vent their frustration on immigration of EU citizens to the UK as the reason for overcrowding at the NHS centres. Surprisingly, the position of the NHS was supportive of UK's membership of the EU and warned that leaving the EU would be too much damage for the NHS (*YouTube.com*, 2016, May 22).

The position of NHS was clearly espoused during the debate as medical associations like the Royal College of Physicians (RCP), a professional body of doctors, representing 30,000 medics, intervened to warn that Brexit could harm patient care and public health. They supported their argument by saying that “British membership of the EU has been a positive thing for the nation’s health system, guaranteeing safety for patients and a good source of staffing the NHS”. This stance by medical associations like this is not so shocking as it tells their level of education. Another medical association that took this position was the British Medical association (BMA), with nearly 150,000 members, although they operated as neutral, published a document on the EU for doctors, which lists the many benefits of UK’s membership of the EU for the NHS, public health and the medical profession. Meanwhile, the British Medical Association (BMA), with nearly 150,000 members, despite remaining officially neutral, has published a document on the EU for doctors, which lists numerous benefits of Britain’s membership for the NHS, the medical profession and public health and only a handful of drawbacks (Cooper, 2016, June 04). This support of UK’s membership of the EU by medical professionals and associations was overwhelmingly shocking to vote-leave supporters as they assumed that the NHS will support their claim.

They continued by sighting the importance of British EU membership to the public on all the media outlet they could lay their hands on. They did it by explaining the “importance of and how free movement of medical professionals has benefited the NHS”. The RCP and BMA for example, highlighted that “being in the EU would guarantee access to billions of pounds worth of European research funding, and world-leading quality checks on medicines and healthcare products that have helped keep patients safe”. The BMA went on to mention that about “30,000 doctors, 11% of medical personnel’s in the UK were trained in another EEA (EU+the others) country, thereby praising the principle and practice of free movement that vote-leave supporters perceived as negative to the UK. And did not fail to mention that “EU laws have been instrument in fighting tobacco companies with ban on flavoured tobacco which encourage young people to smoke”. The medicals associations did their best in trashing and opposing sceptics view of EU-UK relationship as explained in the argument above. First, they attacked the negative connotation attached to the topic of immigration, second, they dealt with the issue of low funding as a result of UK/EU membership and third, they challenged the issue of EU laws (Torjesen, 2017; Modi, 2017; Iacobucci, 2016).

One of the issues of concern outlined in the document the BMA gave to its members is the EU influence regarding the implications of EU/US Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) for the NHS. And Parliament voted to exclude the NHS from the TTIP deal meaning there is no need to panic and both BMA and RCP clamoured for UK's continuous membership of the EU during the campaign. They did their best to highlight the dangers of an out-vote for the citizens and even after the referendum continues to raise alarm about what a final Brexit will look like for the NHS and the people (Kmietowicz, 2016: 1). Despite the campaign and warnings, the NHS and medical associations alerted the public and the government of, its somewhat surprising to finally come to terms with the fact that the referendum result was in favour of vote-leave supporters.

3.3. Academic Institutions

The role academic institutions played during the debate was strategic in garnering support for a stay-in vote during the referendum. As mentioned above, there was a continuous call by academia to the public to support and vote the UK to remain and continue as a member of the EU. This is so because the EU funds research and the free movement enables and encourage researchers and students to move to the UK. This was clearly noted in the report submitted by Professor Sir Simon Wessely, president of the Royal College of Psychiatrists, who submitted evidence to the RCP, stating that "The survival of the NHS and its capacity to improve hinge on three core needs: more money, more people and more research. Each of these will be negatively impacted should we leave the EU." Ashcroft et al, in his article suggested "that instead of the UK to leave the EU, the government can be more responsible by and curb the challenge facing the UK by renewing its investments in public services like education rather than allow the EU shoulder the responsibility alone" (Ashcroft, 2016: 357).

Goodwin et al in his article gave a clear explanation how education influenced the votes during the referendum. He outlined that people within an authority who have no educational qualification voted to leave the EU, whereas people with high educational qualification (of degree level or above) voted to stay and remain in the EU. He continues by adding that this polarization along educational gap was more evident in areas outside London and Scotland where education showed to be a determinant of the support or disdain for Brexit (Goodwin, 2016: 326-328). This explanation gives the feeling that education (literacy) shaped how people reacted to the debate that led to the victory sceptics had during the referendum which is correct but would also like to remind the reader that the mention of London and Scotland in the above argument puts regional arrangement in the picture. This is to say that because those people living in the city coupled with their level of enlightenment will most likely not blame immigrants for the inefficiency of the British government. Whereas for someone living in a rural or remote setting, the reverse is the case as a negative change in the living standard of such individual may result to blame shifting as a result of lack of contact with the outside world and lack of adequate information.

3.4. Other Sectors: Agricultural organizations and Other Businesses

This section will deal with the various businesses that joined in airing their views and what they did during the Brexit debate that in turn influenced the outcome of the referendum. It is important to clarify the basic definition pinned to what is meant here by businesses; it represents farming, fishing, banks, and other services. One of the important organisation that voiced their opinion and concerns during the Brexit debate is the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC). The ETUC voiced their concern and told the public that “a leave-vote would destabilize the British economy and would create bigger problems for British companies and British citizens employed in other EU countries”. However, with this in mind, it is important to note that before the British referendum on membership of the European Union (EU), social partners across Europe – including, on the trade union side, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) , the Italian Confederation of Workers’ Trade Unions and

the General Workers' Union (UGT) in Spain and, on the employers' side, the Spanish Confederation of Employer Organisations (CEOE) and the Confederation of Industry of the Czech Republic (SP ČR) – issued statements encouraging British people to vote Remain or expressing their hope for the UK to remain a member of the EU. The Confederation of British Industry (CBI) highlighted the positive impact of EU membership on the British economy. Citing the fact that a leave vote will leave workers in the UK with a weaker position to social and welfare packages as the UK will no longer adhere to the EU labour and employment laws. Unfortunately, there were some exceptions among both unions and employer organisations, including the British Chambers of Commerce (BCC) and the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers (RMT) (Christine, 2016, Jul 26; Aumayr et al, 2016, July 27; europa.eu, 2017, Jun 08). However, their efforts did little to save the membership of UK in the EU. But did their best by organizing different conference and campaign to inform the people of the benefit of the EU-UK membership and implications of halting it with a leave vote.

Another relevant issue that and area of concern that played out in the Brexit debate was the topic of Agriculture, fishing, and farming. During the debate and campaign for Brexit, local farmers and the fishing industry in the UK expressed their concern in respect of the negative impact EU laws and regulations has shattered these industries by asserting that regulations and laws postulated by the EU has weakened the competitiveness. The organisations that make up this industry responded differently with some campaigning for the support of Brexit and others for a stay-in vote. A key player that made great strides to influence the referendum in order to have keep the British EU membership is the Country Land and Business Association Limited (CLA) (Cla.org, 2016, April 4).

The CLA is the membership organisation for owners of land, property and businesses in rural England and Wales. Their effort during the debates and campaign before the referendum include the demand of details of a plan from political leaders and parties for the rural economy should the UK vote to leave the EU. They achieved this by “engaging with politicians and the public across England and Wales to keep the rural economy at the heart of the debate about EU membership”. They made more efforts by making publication of Leave or Remain, which basically is the (the CLA's report) explaining the decisions that “British politicians must make to support the rural economy”. An example can be extracted from the speech of the President of CLA, Ross Murray said: “Having set out in our report how leaving

the EU would impact on the rural economy, it is crucial that we continue to engage with politicians on this vitally important issue and that is just what we are doing. We need to have clarity on what the Government's 'plan B' is in the event of us leaving the EU" (Cla.org, 2016, Apr 4).

4. Results of the Misinterpretation of British Identity

The implications of Brexit on the UK is multifaceted and requires in-depth research to fully grasp the mistake British politicians and the people made when they voted to leave the EU. But in all, the implications can be said to have a negative political impact on the government and the ruling class. However, this chapter will focus on the happenings since the Brexit vote and further relate it to how the discourse of nationalism during the debate has affected the British society and Politics. As explained earlier (see chapter 2 and 3) nationalism took different forms (popular sovereignty, economic sovereignty, legal sovereignty and parliamentary sovereignty), coupled with special happenings both in the EU and around the world during the time of the debate. The campaign for Brexit was mostly backed by hate, xenophobia and racial slurs and might lead to a political breakdown of politics in the UK as people of different religion and colour no longer felt accepted in the UK. This fact was noticed in the files obtained for the purpose of this research as comments and counter comments showed rivalry and hate between audiences (*YouTube.com*, 26Mar14; *Twitter.com* 2016, Jun. 20; *Facebook.com*, 2017, Jun. 4).

In line with this explanation, the issues that took centre stage during the debate and campaign that preceded the referendum only helped to create political instability and uncertainty in the UK (Oliver, 2015: 90). However, the important questions to be answered here are, will the Brexit lead to a resurgence of British power in Europe or to its decline. How will the citizens react when they are faced with the truth that most of all the issues presented during the debates and campaign were inaccurate or what will they do when they discover that they cannot do without the EU?

According to previous explanations given (see chapter 1 and 2) Euroscepticism originated with the feeling of nationalism and led to the rise and influence of different sceptic groups and major parties like the UKIP. During the debates and campaign, the UKIP became famous and was active like never before in all their political history as they championed and led sceptics by presenting issues which the party represents (anti-intra EU immigration) to the core of the debate. As shown in a study by Thielemann, the topic of immigration during the debates where falsified and can be likened to a myth and will pose a greater problem for the government when the myths presented and the outcome of an out vote will make it increasingly harder for governments to be responsive to public demands about immigration

while at the same time pursuing responsible policies on migrant integration. He continues to state how this frustration might affect the British government by saying that “in the scenario of a British exit from both the EU and the EEA would in theory allow the UK to redefine its immigration system. Ultimately, however, the UK’s policy choices would nonetheless be heavily constrained, not only by business demands for both skilled and unskilled labour in a UK labour market that is already characterised by very low unemployment; it would also be limited by the fact that there are large numbers of UK citizens who will continue to reside in other member states and for whom bilateral (and presumably reciprocal) arrangements would have to be found” (Thielemann, 2016: 139-144).

Here this argument can be explained to give a general inclination of the scenario where this inability of the British government to deliver on key promises made during the campaign will lead to a breakdown of trust between the people and the government which will lead to the demand of new political actors and party reformation. This is so because at some point the debate and campaign for Brexit became intricate and incited bitterness and racial divide. Perhaps the leader of the UKIP party saw this coming and resigned in order not to face the heat when they fail to deliver to the people. Political and party leaders now face greater criticism and pressure from the citizens.

Another far reaching and distorting implication of Brexit for the UK is the societal divide that has arisen within the society which might lead to the demand for independence by Scotland and a breakdown of key institutions like the NHS and the labour supply. The clamouring for a regaining of control of the UK sovereignty and border control makes the topic of immigration more focused and has led to speculations that the Scots in their bid to remain in the EU might want to decide to breakout of the UK. This is resonated in the Scottish National Party (SNP), which argued that the result revealed the need for a second independence referendum in Scotland. The referendum result has come to challenge the British constitutional set. However, though the referendum result shows that Northern Ireland and Scotland voted to remain in the EU as England and Wales voted to leave has not only revived calls for Scottish independence but also has called to the attention of new concerns about how the border between Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic will be managed. This can be likened as a fight of nationalism within nationalism (Goodwin, 2016: 324).

The second aspect of the impact of Brexit spearheaded by nationalism is the racial divide within the society and a high rise of xenophobia. This example can be taken from the NHS

that has over 130, 000 staffs from other EU has already started experiencing racial slurs. Stephen Dalton, interim chief executive of the NHS Confederation, showed concern as report around the UK displayed that The NHS staff from countries inside and outside the EU started experiencing racist abuse since the referendum result. Melanie Jones, director of Medical Care Support, tweeted on 26 June, “So many stories today about abuse of our valued BME [black and minority ethnic] and IMG [international medical graduate] colleagues, pls report to employers.” (Gareth, 2016). This fact contradicts the aim of nationalism as the NHS views the referendum result as having a negative impact on the British health institution.

An analysis by Oliver shows that the move of Britain to vote out of the EU is a bad idea that will jeopardize the national interest of the UK. He explains this by outlining that Britain’s international position would become unclear. For the US and other powers, Britain would remain a valuable partner, but one reduced by its inability to influence the EU. A British exit would change the EU itself, possibly in ways detrimental to Britain’s interests. With the possibility of it becoming more inward-looking, more divided and less interested in British or transatlantic agendas; another possibility is that it might become a more united and powerful actor, from which Britain had excluded itself. This means that Britain will share its relative decline in the international order with Europe and the wider West, and will continue to face the same kind of risks and opportunities as the EU and its members. And in facing these it will remain a power able to affect change to a certain degree, but compared to the EU and those within it, more than ever before it would be at the mercy of decisions by other powers (Oliver, 2015: 89).

Political parties and their ideology has already been affected by Brexit to a large extent. This is noticeable in the just concluded UK election showed a shift and a divide of political arrangement in the UK. Leaders confidence is already being questioned by the citizens in a situation that looks like a show of lack of confidence and a disdain of party position. This is perceived to be so as a call for the election earlier than expected by the British prime minister Theresa May was viewed as a result of her version of Brexit that was set out in the Conservative manifesto; it said that sovereignty was a red line, and concluded that Britain must withdraw from both the single market and the customs union. In doing so it threatened our economic interests, and funding for our public services. This made her mandate to deliver a total Brexit uncertain and looks like the British people is starting to realise that leaving the EU is at the detriment of their national interest (Dorrell, 2017, June 16).

It is important to note that while Brexit sparked a new wave of nationalist movement across the EU, survey report by the PEW Research Centre has shown that Nigel Farage and UKIP actually only succeeded in boosting the a positive view of the EU around Europe. The research showed that even UK citizens who voted to leave the EU now views the EU differently and people have become more aware of the importance of the EU. The research was carried out with a survey of about 10,000 citizens across the EU including UK. The survey result showed that a median of just 18% in nine major EU countries want their own country to follow the UK out of the European Union. (Moshinsky, 2017, Jun 16).

To conclude this chapter, it is important to note that the connotation ascribed to nationalism or national identity only ended dividing the British society with far more grave consequences which might become worse for the British Government in the near future with no certainty for both British citizens and other EU nationals residing and working in the UK. This does not necessarily mean that nationalism must be displayed with negative assumption and divide but in the context of Brexit the divide was coined by sceptics to trick the British people into voting the UK out of the EU without putting into consideration long term effects of such machination.

Conclusion

From the first chapter, it is obvious that Brexit has been building up momentum for a long time like a time bomb waiting to explode. The EU/UK relationship as seen took different outlook and was influenced by political parties, and the leaders started making its debate and argument against the EU from the perspective of British national identity against what the idea of a federal Europe meant. Putting the research question into view, which is the consideration of nationalism as the factor of Brexit or a combination of national interest, failure of UK government, ignorance and misinformation, literacy, EU economic and financial crisis, British constitutional arrangement and, global affairs (2016 migration crisis), it is evident to say that nationalism played out as a crucial tool of skeptics in the British referendum that led to the actualization of Brexit. It is important to note that the decline of the British empire as explained above gave rise to a new concept of nationalism that later on turned out to be a challenge as the British national identity became too vague and a summation of their previous empire. This fact can be said to be the confusion that the UK faced as the time when it joined the EU, Britain was trying to find a new avenue of influence. And failure to achieve this can be said to be one of the reasons it started refuting the idea of a federal Europe.

As time elapsed, the argument put forth by Forster changed the position of the claim made by Parekh. And modified it to mean that Euroscepticism gained volume by explaining the fact that nationalism is not just the only factor driving the Eurosceptic attitude of member states in the European Union, Anthony Forster presents an argument that Euroscepticism has a multifaceted nature, that makes it a key for longevity. This can be displayed in different contexts, for example; the questioning of involvement in European integration projects as it

may have more benefits for some member states than others, doubts about membership of the EU community on the ground of proper border control, the competence of some governmental bodies of the EC/the EU as a result of poor policy outcome, disengagement and withdrawal. This study shows that there is evidence that nationalism is not the only driving force for Brexit but a combination of national interest, failure of UK government, ignorance and misinformation, literacy, EU economic and financial crisis. This argument can be supported by documents analysed for the purpose of this research. ignorance and the 2016 Brexit debate gives credence to this argument.

This above-mentioned factor played out over the years, it determined the response and characterized the nature of British policy towards the EU. As a result, most EU policies and laws were not acceptable and therefore not ratified into British laws. The earliest example is the opposition to the Maastricht Treaty. And subsequently, other EU laws like the migration law and border control (Peers, 2016: 248-249). This then brings the question to mind, if the UK had the right to select EU laws to ratify, could nationalism be the reason behind the Brexit.

As the chapter two approached, analysis of the Brexit and a purview of the different political parties involved in the debate presented their concern, the UKIP proved to have and portrayed a unique position which can be perceived as nationalistic, but there were other factors that characterized and helped shape their argument and position. This however led to the final classification of Brexit as a multifaceted topic that did not just happen base on the struggle for national interest. Rather it's a combination of national interest, failure of UK government, ignorance and misinformation, literacy, EU economic and financial crisis, British constitutional arrangement, and global affairs.

This assumption is further supported by the argument of the fourth chapter that displayed how organizations and institutions reacted to and responded to the idea skeptics were selling to the public. This argument fought the idea of nationalism being the sole factor of Brexit and shows that different actors in the debate that preceded the referendum made their stance based on different position and opinion which to an extent calls for concern as a continuous rivalry between the different political parties might lead to rearrangement of the UK political system. Although, this might end up making politicians more responsible and accountable towards their electorates but might, in the long run, lead to a sharp decline of the British influence in the world.

Why there is a strong concern here that nationalism should be treated with astuteness as a misconception of it will lead to bizarre situation Britain finds itself in right now. And most alarming is the fact that Brexit will not alleviate Britain or free it from attracting foreigners to its terrain and has called for nations to redefine what is understood as national identity and national movement. Is it a promotion of racism, xenophobia, hate, intolerance, discrimination or a promotion of the factors that constitute a particular culture?

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Pillars of the Maastricht Treaty

Annual impact of leaving the EU in the UK After 15 years (difference from being in the EU)

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The use of image by Sceptics

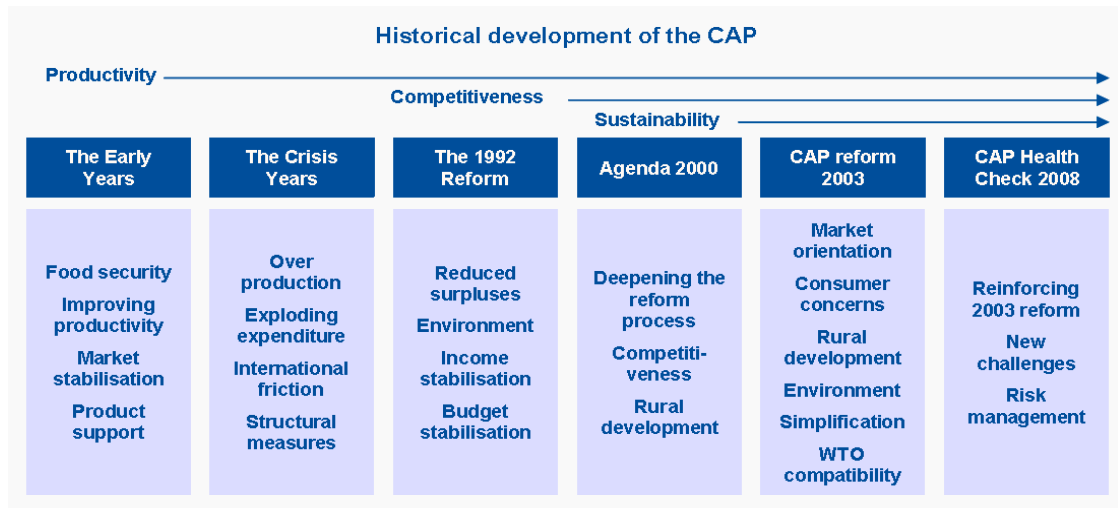
EU budget distributions

EU budget procedure

Chart showing EU favorability after Brexit

Appendices

1. The development of Common Agricultural Policy



Resource: Community 2014a.

2. Pillars of the Maastricht Treaty



Resource: Schumann, Wolfgang 2014.

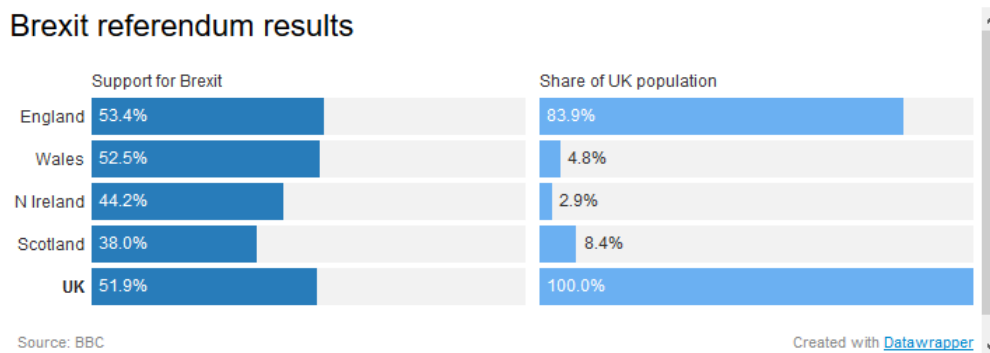
3. Annual Impact of Leaving the EU in the UK After 15 Years (Difference from being in the

| Annual impact of leaving the EU on the UK after 15 years (difference from being in the EU) | | | |
|--|--------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| | EEA | Negotiated bilateral agreement | WTO |
| GDP level – central | -3.8% | -6.2% | -7.5% |
| GDP level | -3.4% to -4.3% | -4.6% to -7.8% | -5.4% to -9.5% |
| GDP per capita – central* | –£1,100 | –£1,800 | –£2,100 |
| GDP per capita* | –£1,000 to –£1,200 | –£1,300 to –£2,200 | –£1,500 to –£2,700 |
| GPD per household – central* | –£2,600 | –£4,300 | –£5,200 |
| GDP per household* | –£2,400 to –£2,900 | –£3,200 to –£5,400 | –£3,700 to –£6,600 |
| Net impact on receipts | –£20 billion | –£36 billion | –£45 billion |
| Adapted from HM Treasury analysis: the long-term economic impact of EU membership and the alternatives, April 2016; *expressed in terms of 2015 GDP in 2015 prices, rounded to the nearest £100. | | | |

EU)

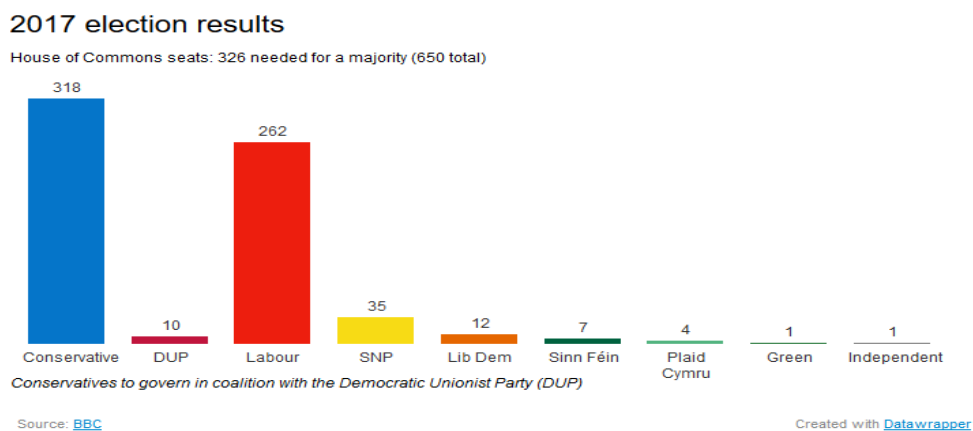
Source: Yahoo Finance

4. Brexit Referendum Result



Source: BBC

5. 2017 Election Result



Source: BBC

6. The Use of Image by Sceptics

↓

Immigration will continue to be out of control

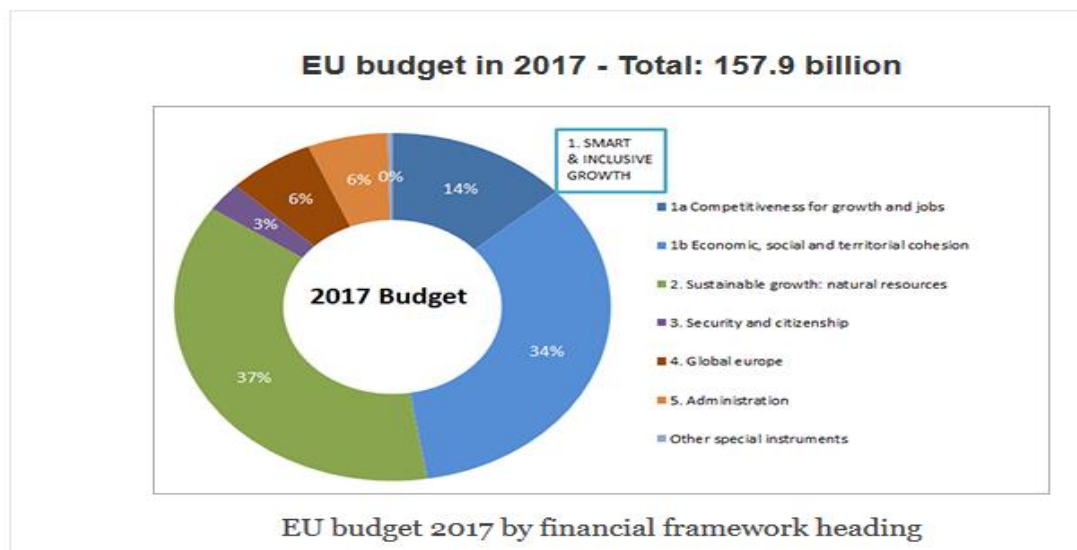
Nearly 2 million people came to the UK from the EU over the last ten years. Imagine what it will be like in future decades when new, poorer countries join.



Source: Matthew Elliot (Vote-leave web page manager)

7. EU Budget Distribution

The EU budget breaks down into about 6 areas of expenditure.

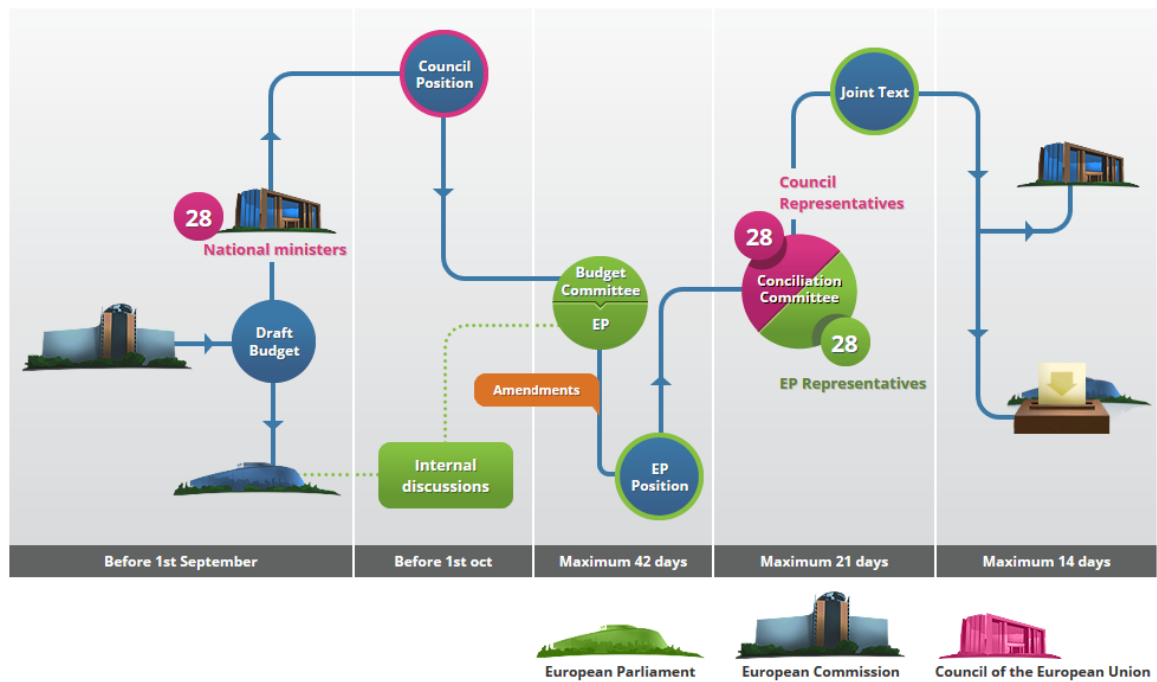


Source: The EU

8. EU Budget Procedure

Budgetary procedure

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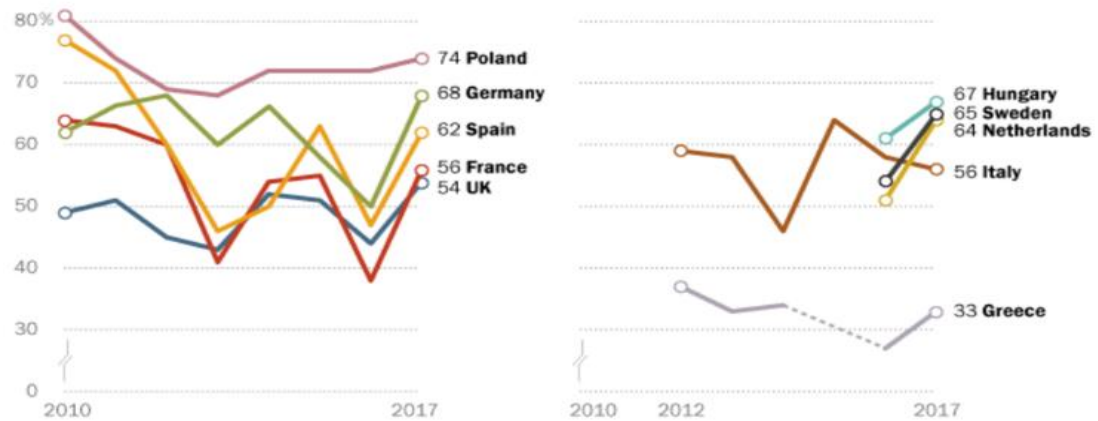


Source: The EU

9. Chart Showing EU Favourability After Brexit

Sharp increase in favorability of EU in many countries in last year

Favorable view of EU



Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey, Q12f.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Source: PEW Research Centre