Brexit: An Analysis of Eurosceptic Mobilisation and the British Vote to Leave the European Union

by

Kayla McCrary

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by
Kayla McCrary

APPROVED:

____________________________
Dr. Vanessa Lefler
Assistant Professor and Adviser
Political Science and International Relations

____________________________
Dr. Stephen Morris
Department Chair
Political Science and International Relations

____________________________
Dr. John Vile
Dean of University Honors College
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Abstract

In June 2016, Britain narrowly voted to leave the European Union in an in/out referendum on membership. Undoubtedly, the implications of such a vote are unprecedented. Recent mobilisations of Euroscepticism across the European Union have culminated with the first decisive move: Britain’s vote to leave the EU. In the following paper, the implications of Euroscepticism in Britain, as well as briefly discussed in Europe, will be placed contextually in an analysis of Britain’s vote to leave the European Union. The analysis does not intend to argue for or against Brexit, nor does it intend to be a comprehensive and fully-detailed account. In regard to the timing of the vote, many aspects of this paper are transforming and changing as events unfold. As a result, this paper intends to rely heavily on historical implications of Euroscepticism as well as a recent literature on the theories of Eurosceptic voting, demographics, and the history of the relationship between the UK and the EU. The conclusions of the paper wrap up the overall analysis of Euroscepticism, arriving at the conclusion that populist and anti-globalist sentiments driven by political parties such as United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) mobilised Euroscepticism, allowing for a philosophy to transform into effective policy change.

Keywords: Euroscepticism, Brexit, European Union, EU, Eurosceptic, UKIP, globalisation, EU Referendum
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List of Abbreviations and Key Terms

**Article 50:** Provision of the Lisbon Treaty that states how a EU Member State can withdraw from the European Union

**Brexit:** Portmanteau of Britain + Exit, refers to Britain leaving the European Union

**Common Market:** EU group of countries imposing few or no duties on trade with one another and a common tariff on trade with other countries.

**Euro:** the single European currency, which replaced the national currencies of France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Greece, Portugal, Luxembourg, Austria, Finland, the Republic of Ireland, Belgium, and the Netherlands in 2002. Seventeen member states of the European Union now use the euro.

**Euro Zone:** the group of European Union nations whose national currency is the euro.

**European Commission (EC):** is the executive body of the European Union responsible for proposing legislation, implementing decisions, upholding the treaties and managing the day-to-day business of the EU.

**European Community/European Economic Community (EC/ECC):** The European Economic Community was a regional organisation which aimed to bring about economic integration among its member states. It was created by the Treaty of Rome of 1957

**European Parliament (EP):** EU citizens elect its members once every five years. Together with the Council of Ministers, it is the law-making branch of the institutions of the Union.

**European Referendum:** Refers to 2016 vote on EU Membership, “Referendum”

**European Union (EU):** The European Union is a politico-economic union of 28 member states that are located primarily in Europe.

**Euroscepticism:** The general scepticism of the EU or the complete rejection of the EU.

**Member of European Parliament (MEP)**

**Member of Parliament (MP)**

**Single Currency:** The Euro

**Single Market:** The Common Market

**United Kingdom (UK):** England, Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland
Chapter I: Euroscepticism – Implications and Application

Since the inception of the European project, Britain has usually been considered an awkward, lukewarm, and hesitant partner. Discourse on the evaluation of the United Kingdom’s relationship with the European Union deemed the UK as a Eurosceptic state to varying degrees. In fact, some scholars note the uniqueness of British Euroscepticism in its own regard, noting that Euroscepticism was once initially perceived as solely an element of British politics (Gifford 2010; Condruz-Bacescu 2014).

Section 1.1: Euroscepticism as a Conceptual Variable

The term “Eurosceptic” has differing connotations and definitions. Generally, the term denotes a sense of disillusion from the Europe, the European Union, or the EU’s aims and goals (usually further integration), or EU institutions such as the European Parliament or the European Commission. Scholars further defined Euroscepticism as a “barometer that measures non-adherence to the European Union,” as “hostility to participation in or the entire enterprise of the EU,” and as an “expression of doubt or disbelief in Europe and European integration in general” (Condruz-Bacescu 2014, 53; George 2000, 15; Hooghe and Marks 2007, 42.) Foundational research into Euroscepticism by Drs. Szcezerbiak and Taggart creates a hard-versus-soft dichotomy which essentially allows for comparisons and categorisations of the identifiable variations of Euroscepticism (2003).

HARD EUROSCPEPTICISM: There is a principled opposition to the EU and European integration that can be seen in parties which propose that their counties should withdraw from membership, or whose policies towards the EU are tantamount to being opposed to the whole project of European integration as it is currently conceived. Furthermore, it is a principled objection to the current form of integration in the European Union on the basis of contradiction of national wishes.

SOFT EUROSCPEPTICISM: There is not a principled objection to European integration or EU membership, but concerns on one (or a number) of policy areas lead to the expression of qualified opposition to the EU, or where there is a sense that “national interest” is currently at odds with the EU’s trajectory.1 Furthermore, it may express itself in terms of opposition to specific policies or in terms of the defence of national interest.

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1 Emphasis added.
Additionally, there are four types of Euroscepticism based on specific subsidiary issues of economics, sovereignty, democratic legitimacy, and political criterion. These criterion are reflected in discourse on British Euroscepticism, especially in relation to the recent debate on the United Kingdom’s membership of the European Union. While Euroscepticism is not solely a British issue and Britain’s relationship with the EU is not wholly contentious, Britain has made the ultimate “hard Eurosceptic” decision to leave the European Union.

### Table 1. Types of Euroscepticism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Euroscepticism based on economic criterion</th>
<th>Euroscepticism based on the criterion of sovereignty</th>
<th>Euroscepticism based on democratic criterion</th>
<th>Euroscepticism based on political criterion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quantifies pragmatically the major benefits and costs arising from EU membership, resulted or not from a cooperative process.</td>
<td>Considers that, at EU level, cooperation should not be a challenge to national sovereignty. These eurosceptics support supranational cooperation in matters that the state can not manage alone (such as environmental issues and the fight against organized crime), but wish to preserve national skills for socio-cultural policies.</td>
<td>Perceives the current institutional structure of the Union as inadequate in terms of representation and democratic participation of citizens.</td>
<td>Assesses EU action based on the doctrine of belonging to a political family; analysts believe that the dominant form of this disproof is social.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section 1.2: Uniqueness of British Euroscepticism

In order to understand why British Euroscepticism has been prevalent through the history between the UK and the EU, it is important to consider its inherent uniqueness. British Euroscepticism is hypothesised as stemming from several defining characteristics of the United Kingdom: geography, the cultural notion of ‘Britishness,’ preferred political system and style of governance, media, and history (Grant 2008; Gebbes 2013). Most of these elements fall under one of the four categories of subsidiary issues within Eurosceptic

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2 See Table 1. Types of Euroscepticism, Condruz-Bacescu, M., 2014, 55, as adapted from Chalmers, 2013; Habermas, 2013.
discourse. In the following section, British Euroscepticism’s prevalence will become apparent through a discussion and analysis of Britain’s history with the European project leading up to the 2016 membership referendum.

Geography and Britishness

The United Kingdom is only approximately twenty miles apart from Calais, France, an area of contentious feelings during the EU referendum due to immigration. The UK shares a border with one EU member state, Ireland. Other than Ireland, the UK is separated by the oceans. In his essay “Why is Britain Eurosceptic?” Charles Grant spoke of Britain:

When I travel around Europe and people ask me why the British are Eurosceptic, I offer four explanations – three of which are easily understood. The first of these is geography and the effect it has had on British history. The British people live on an island on the edge of the continent and have always been inspired by the oceans. The British talk of Europe as another place (as the Finns, Irish and Portuguese sometimes do) (2008).

Sometimes, the British refer to Europe as “the continent,” implying distance and separation. For example, a publication on British Euroscepticism by the Bruges Group, a notably Eurosceptic group getting its name from the famous Bruges speech by former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, immediately begins with a reference to the separation between the United Kingdom (specifically England) and “the continent” as followed:

The English suspicion of Europe (its Christian Transcendentalism and Universalism) sprang naturally from multiple sources. To locate the ambivalence and disbelief of the idea of Europe, we must go back to the Reformation and beyond. From the time when Britain became an island of the European continent, she experienced continual traffic and movements of people and ideas, including those from Rome. However, these interactions with mainland Europe, however, did not lessen the continuous impact of an offshore island location (Kasonta 2015).
For some, geography is not necessarily a negative feature contributing to British identity. Britain’s orientation has historically been toward Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Due to its proximity to Europe, Britain has often found itself intertwined in European affairs historically, including numerous wars and conflicts; however, as a result of the proximity to Europe and an intertwined history, Britain has been shaped substantially and positively by its interactions with “the continent.” In “Being British”, Bhikhu Parekh wrote on the implications of British history and identity:

Britain’s orientation to the world is complex and layered. Thanks to its geography, it has for centuries been deeply involved in European affairs and shares a common European heritage. For obvious historical reasons, Britain also has close ties with the US whose political culture reflects its own in many respects. And thanks to the empire, large parts of the world too are an integral part of [British] history and continue to shape [British] political consciousness, not least in the shape of the post-world immigrants and the Commonwealth of over fifty countries. Britain’s global identity is not only a precipitate of its history but also a necessity in an increasingly global world. A country with its kind of economy and worldwide interests cannot define itself in isolation from the rest of the world. Britain is thus at once European, Atlantic, and global, and none of these alone fully captures its identity. It is a bridge, if we must use that tired and rather mechanical metaphor, between all three and not just the first two (2009, 38).

Conversely, some authors suggested geography alone is not a sufficient explanation for Britain’s Euroscepticism. For example, in Britain and the European Union, Andrew Geddes noted that geographical implications are not a factor in nations such as Ireland, which is not on “the continent,” but remains a steadfast member of the European Union and does not exhibit the same Euroscepticism as its neighbour, Great Britain (2013, 29). Even still,
Eurosceptics tend to quote Winston Churchill’s famous quip that Britain is “with but not of” Europe:

Where do we stand? We are not members of the European Defence Community, nor do we intend to be merged in a Federal European system. We feel we have a special relation to both, expressed by prepositions: by the preposition “with” but not “of” – we are with them, but not of them. We have our own Commonwealth and Empire (Foreign Affairs 1953).

In *The Saturday Evening Post*, Winston Churchill further elaborated on his view of the separation of identities:

[We] have our own dream and our own task. We are with Europe, but not of it. We are linked, not comprised. We are interested and associated, but not absorbed. […] The scheme of the British Empire economically self-conscious, a commercial unit, even perhaps a fiscal unit, can never be widely expressed in exclusive terms (Churchill 1930, 51).

Despite these particular quotes from Churchill, he stood by the “United States of Europe” dream and imagined a Europe with trade, union, and peace. He noted that the idea of a “European identity” was not to be feared. Yet, it is important to note the uniqueness of the “Britishness” versus “European.”

In the report entitled “Do We feel European and Does it Matter?” published in 2015 by NatCen Social Research in conjunction with The UK in a Changing Europe, the study of national identity from the British Social Attitudes data from 1996 – 2014 to map a trend of social attitude toward the European Union is depicted in Chart 1 on the following page. In this report, one of the main conclusions is that while identities are difficult to measure, as some may hold multiple identities with different importance, most respondents do not see
themselves as Europeans. Less than 1 in 5 described themselves as European, and in 2014, only 1 in 7 described themselves as European (Ormston 2015).

**Chart 1: Percentage of People in Britain Who Describe Themselves as European (1996 – 2014)**

As noted in the report, British identity is comprised of four different countries with subsidiary identities within each. The British Social Attitudes surveys measured the “extent to which people in Britain identify with multiple national (and in the case of European, supranational) identities that are commonly associated with Great Britain and/or Ireland” (Ormston 2015). The survey is given to the respondents with the following choices: British, English, European, Irish, Northern Irish, Scottish, Ulster, Welsh, Other (specify).

As individuals can hold multiple identities, this raises the question of how strongly “Europeanism” can compete with the British and subsidiary identities. Thomas Risse remarked on this notion, stating that individuals can hold multiple identities that are contextually-bound, and membership of a group can lead to distinctions from other groups e.g. British, French, or German (Risse 2001, 198-200; Risse 2003). Furthermore, the
cohesiveness of member groups is “often based on emotional ties” to the group linked closely to ideas about nationality, nation state, and sovereignty (Gebbes 2013, 33; Risse 2001, 201).

In 2015, a Eurobarometer poll indicated that 64% of British respondents only saw themselves as British, which was the highest percentage amongst all responding countries, followed by Cyprus and Greece (Eurobarometer Report May 2015). Furthermore, in “Britain and Europe: Are we all Eurosceptics now?” published with British Social Attitudes data by NatCan Social Research concluded with the following passage:

Yet, few of us feel a sense of European identity, and as a result the European Union is perhaps always having to justify itself in the eyes of British voters. And on that score we are not as convinced of the practical benefits of membership as we were in the 1990s, while more recently opposition to the EU has become closely intertwined with concern about levels of immigration, a subject that many voters have long felt should primarily be a matter for national governments. Between them these considerations appear to have helped intensify Britain’s Eurosceptic mood (2015, 32).

The identity debate, while multifaceted, has implications far beyond that of answering the question of who is British, especially in light of Brexit. In regards to Brexit, the identity question stretches over into immigration and migration, globalisation, and Britain’s future with the European Union and the world. As written in “Englishness in Contemporary British Politics,” former Prime Minister Gordon Brown noted that the identity debate affects public policy issues and can only be “fully addressed through a politics that is not only framed in terms of Britishness, but is willing to engage positively with an increasingly conscious Englishness” (Hayton, English, & Kenny 2009, 131). In subsequent chapters, the effect of Britishness, social attitude toward “being European,” and national identity will be further explored as an element of Brexit specifically.
Governance

An important tension between Britain and the European Union since its inception was the conflict between preferred styles of governance. The European Union, as currently conceived, is a supranational entity, meaning that its member states have pooled sovereignty to an overarching institution of decision making. The decisions made at the supranational level bind all member states. In addition to political integration, there is also economic integration in the European Union, mostly notably the free trade area in which there are no tariffs or trade barriers within member states and an Economic Monetary Union with a single currency, the Euro, although some have opted out. The United Kingdom is not a member of the Eurozone and has opted out of the single currency provision.

Supranationalism means also that EU law supersedes law made at the national level. Britain, on the other hand, prefers a system of governance with intergovernmental cooperation, intergovernmentalism. Intergovernmentalism, as noted by Gebbes, places power in “unanimity as the basis of decision making” and “allows a veto to be exercised to protect national interests” (Gebbes 2013, 24).

When the European project’s founders were structuring what would eventually result in the EU, intergovernmentalism was not at the forefront of the framework. As a result, British politicians, for the most part, rejected the notion of supranational integration as idealistic, not practical (Beloff 1970).

In modern Britain, the EU’s supranationalist tendencies seemed to exacerbate Eurosceptic attitudes, even amongst pro-Europeans. According to British Social Attitudes data, 43% of British respondents who feel European said that they want the European Union’s powers to be reduced (2015, 1). From 1992 – 2014, respondents indicated that they want to stay in the EU and reduce its powers with an overall average of 34% (British Social
Attitudes 2015, 32). Respondent’s most popular choice when presented with options regarding EU membership was to stay in the European Union, but reduce its powers with 38% in 2015 (British Social Attitudes 2015).

**Media**

British media is undeniably unique in its ability to shape Eurosceptic opinion. According to Grant, the British media is “uniquely powerful and Eurosceptic” (Grant 2008, 3). Furthermore, Grant posed that three-quarters of the 30 million individuals who read British newspapers are reading Eurosceptic material (Grant, 2008, 3). He justified his claim by noting that British newspapers often print falsehoods about the European Union because journalists are “allowed” to do so, and often newspapers’ owners encourage or demand anti-EU material (Grant, 2008, 3).

One of the most influential and widely circulated newspapers in Britain is *The Sun*, which boasts a circulation of approximately 1.8 million and is owned by media giant Rupert Murdoch. According to a post directly by *The Sun*, the outlet urged readers to “beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU” and “free ourselves from dictatorial Brussels” (*The Sun*, 2016). Further into the article, *The Sun* said:

To remain [in the European Union] means being powerless to cut mass immigration which keeps wages low and puts catastrophic pressure on our schools, hospitals, roads and housing stock. In every way, it is a bigger risk. The Remain campaign, made up of the corporate establishment, arrogant europhiles and foreign banks, have set out to terrify us all about life outside the EU. Their “Project Fear” strategy predicts mass unemployment, soaring interest rates and inflation, plummeting house prices, even world war. This is our chance to make Britain even greater, to recapture our democracy, to preserve the values and culture we are rightly proud of (*The Sun*, 2016).

Perhaps less ostentatiously, the *Daily Telegraph*, which has approximately 472,000 in circulation in 2016 and 490,000 in 2015, was seen as neutral. Yet, the *Telegraph* eventually posted on 20 June 2016 in support of Britain leaving the European Union, noting that there was a “benefit from of world of opportunity” in voting to leave (*Telegraph View* 2016).

Member of Parliament and former Mayor of London, and a leader of the Brexit campaign, Boris Johnson was often a star columnist for *The Telegraph*. Yet, *The Telegraph* also published the opinion piece by United States President Barrack Obama which urged for a vote to remain in the European Union, with the headline: “Barack Obama: As your friend, let me say that the EU makes Britain even greater.” *The Sunday Telegraph*, the sister paper, also supported Brexit.

While many of the top media outlets in Britain were backing Brexit, there were several news entities that were in favour of remaining in the European Union: *The Times, The Daily Mirror, The Guardian, Evening Standard, The Financial Times, The Observer* (Spence 2016).

During the EU Membership campaigns, complaints of biased news coverage from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) were delivered by both the Remain and Leave camps. In October, *The Daily Mail* formally accused the BBC of bias and “reverting back to its Europhile roots” (*Daily Mail* 2016). University of Cardiff research indicated that of the 571 BBC reports on the EU referendum “just over one in five statistics used were challenged either by a journalist, campaigner or other source. But most of this questioning – 65.2% –
was carried out by rival politicians, with 17.6% of statistical claims challenged by journalists” (Martinson 2016).

In response to accusations of bias during the EU referendum, the a BBC spokesperson replied as followed:

   BBC news is covering events following the referendum vote and the impact of sterling’s revaluation in a responsible and impartial way – we have reported on the upsides as well as downsides and other key economic indicators, like the FTSE’s strength, consumer confidence and manufacturing and services sectors rebounding (Martinson 2016).

Section 1.3: Euroscepticism in Other European Union Countries

   Euroscepticism is not strictly a British phenomenon. Following the Eurozone debt crisis, trust in the European Union as a functional institution has fallen in debtor countries, creditor countries, Eurozone members, and opt-outs like the United Kingdom (Bechev, et. al 2013). For example, in Greece, a debtor member state, about 92% of Greeks polled in Pew Research Center’s 2016 report “Euroskepticism Beyond Brexit” disapprove of how the EU dealt with the Eurozone economic crisis3, compared to the United Kingdom’s 55% (84% of which were supporters of the prominently anti-EU political party United Kingdom Independence Party) (Stokes 2016). Comparing this single-issue based poll across different member states (both creditor and debtor), disapproval still seems to be inching toward or over a majority in most countries surveyed, with the two outliers being Germany and Poland, both with 47% approval.


   3
Founding EU nations which serve as de facto leaders, such as France and Germany, have been just as susceptible to Eurosceptic trends. EU favourability is down by double-digits in France with 38% and down by eight points with 50% in Germany (Stokes 2016).

**Germany**

In Germany, far-right political parties have seen an increase in support. Specifically, the Alternative for Germany (Alternative für Deutschland), identifying as a right-wing, populist, and anti-immigration party, celebrated Brexit.
German Eurosceptic MEP Beatrix von Storch of the AfP sent out the following message in support of Brexit:

The 23 June is a historic day. It is Great Britain’s independence day. The people were asked – and they decided. The European Union as a political union has failed (Storch 2016).

The AfP, which is notably an anti-refugee party, rose to the forefront of challenging Chancellor Angela Merkel of the Christian Democrat party and its “open-door” policy on refugees from Syria, the Middle East, and Africa. Initially, AfP was established in 2013 by economists aiming to abolish the Euro single currency. Written off, AfP was often seen as “temporary phenomenon” by Merkel (Oltermann 2016). However, AfP received 14.2% in the Berlin state election in September 2016, overtaking Merkel’s party in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern with 10 seats out of the available 16 in the state assemblies in Germany (Goulard 2016; Welt 2016).

After the Brexit vote in summer of 2016, Merkel’s approval rating grew by from the 46% reported in February, 56% in April, 50% in June, to a high of 59% in July (Ehni 2016). Thirty-four percent of respondents indicated that they would vote for Merkel’s party if elections were held the week of the survey (July 2016), and support for far-right wing parties like AfP dropped by three percentage points (Goulard 2016).

Within that same month, August, Germany suffered several domestic terrorist attacks including a mass shooting in Germany with 9 victims, an axe attack on a train in Wuerzburg, a suicide blast in Ansbach injuring 15, and a deadly machete attack by a Syrian migrant in Reutlingen. Support for Merkel and her immigration policies declined to 47% overall, and two-thirds of respondents indicated that they opposed Merkel’s handling of the refugee crisis (Buergin 2016).
France

Currently, the president of France is François Hollande of the Socialist Party, having being elected since 2012. Ultimately, most mainstream politicians support the European Union and France’s membership. However, France has recently seen an uprising of a right-wing, nationalist, and anti-immigration party Front National led by Marie Le Pen.

In France, right-wing movements and extremism has had a longer history, dating back even to the French Revolution. The modern extreme right-wing group that has the most influence in French politics is the Front National (FN), which was founded in 1972 with leader Jean-Marie Le Pen. The rise of FN has influenced public discourse, ethnic relations, and social class relations in France. Similar to far-right groups in the United Kingdom, United Kingdom Independence Party and British National Party, Front National’s electorate base is the working class, has a strong opposition to the European Union, socially conservative, nationalist, and favours a strong anti-immigration stance.

Le Pen has conveyed Front National’s beliefs on some of the most pressing cultural issues in Europe. For example, Le Pen has likened multiculturalism to Nazi occupation and the imposition of cultural tolerance to be a contradiction of French values (Shorto 2011). Her party has anti-immigration stances, as evident through her condemnation of the European Union’s dealings with migrants from Northern Africa (Squires 2011).

Her feelings toward the European Union were made clear when she told Bloomberg Television:

I will be Madame Frexit if the European Union doesn’t give us back our monetary, legislative, territorial and budget sovereignty (Holehouse & Riley-Smith 2015).

Le Pen noted that she would hold an in/out referendum on France’s membership of the European Union if she was elected as president of France. Front National currently holds two
seats in National Assembly, 2 in the Senate, 21 in the European Parliament, 358 in regional councils, 61 in general councils, and 1,545 in municipal councils.

Section 1.5: European Union Response to Brexit

While disapproval with the European Union’s policies and handling of economic and immigration issues was observed among many of the EU member states, including Greece, Italy, France, Germany, and Spain, there was little support for the United Kingdom’s withdrawal from the European Union. According to Pew Research Center’s report, of the ten European Union countries surveyed, 70% indicated that that the UK’s departure from the Union would be a “bad thing” for the EU. Moreover, despite increases in national Eurosceptic parties in two of the founding members of the European project, 62% in France and 74% in Germany said UK’s departure would hurt the EU (Stokes 2016, 10).

Chart 3: European Views of EU and Brexit (Unfavourable/Favourable) (Good/Bad)

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4 Stoke, B. “Euroskepticism Beyond Brexit.” Significant opposition in key European countries to an ever closer EU.
Despite data pointing to a decline in trust and approval with the European Union’s institutions, no member state, other than the United Kingdom, has put forth meaningful effort to leave the Union. Considering this, several questions arise surrounding the circumstances of Brexit, each of which will be discussed in subsequent chapters:

- To what extent has Euroscepticism transcended its philosophical roots and transformed into a vehicle of policy change vis-à-vis withdrawal from the European Union?
- Is Brexit better explained as a result of a different phenomenon, such as populism or anti-globalism, rather than Euroscepticism? Conversely, is populism or anti-globalism Euroscepticism in its ultimate application?
- Is Brexit a result of Britain’s unique Euroscepticism? Are there other contributing factors, such as cues from political parties and the media or the current events surrounding the vote, which played more substantial roles than historic sceptic attitudes toward the EU?

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Chapter II: Britain’s History with the European Union

After World War II, Europe faced the economic and political challenge of rebuilding. The United States aided significantly in the rebuilding of Europe with Marshall Aid worth $13 (US) billion distributed between 1948 and 1952 (Geddes 2013). In addition to this financial aid, the US contributed to the political reestablishment of a unified Europe. As the US was keen on Western Europe’s capitalist and liberal-democratic cooperation, the Americans helped craft the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) in 1948 in order to integrate Marshall Aid countries into one political unit. Similarly to the modern European Union, the OEEC functioned as a facilitator for intra-European trade and economic co-operation by reducing tariffs and trade barriers, studying the feasibility of creating a customs union and/or free trade area, and promoting better conditions for utilisation of labour (OECD 2016). The United States wanted Britain to play a leadership role in this organisation. Instead, Britain advocated for intergovernmental cooperation in the OEEC, rather than the institution of supranational structures with overarching powers over the member states (Geddes 2013).

In 1952, political and economic cohesion of European countries was born through the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) via the Treaty of Paris (signed in 1951). The ECSC was comprised of “The Six” founding countries of Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. The creation of the ESCS was spearheaded by France and Germany, as the two raw materials (coal and steel) were the basis of industry and power of the two countries (EUR-LEX 2010). As a result, the underlying political objective was to strengthen Franco-German solidarity post-WWII and invigorate the European economy (EUR-LEX 2010). During this time, Britain was hesitant to join up with an emerging supranational organisation. Britain was not opposed to the ESCS, but it did not
want to join. While the British did not join the ESCS, they signed a treaty of association in 1954 under which there was a permanent British delegation to the headquarters in Luxemburg and continued communication with European counterparts over common problems (Fogarty 1957).

In addition to other internal factors at play, Britain’s political hesitation came alongside post-war nationalistic pride. The Foreign Office’s view toward European integration was in so much that ‘Great Britain must be viewed as a world power of the second rank and not merely as a unit in a federated Europe’ (Ellison 2000). According to Max Beloff in The Intellectual in Politics and Other Essays (1970) and Britain and the European Union (1996), the British government held the view that supranational integration was idealistic and an inevitable failure. Beloff based this claim on the British refusal to join the ECSC. For the time being, it seemed as if Britain would reject Sir Winston Churchill’s call for a “[recreated] European family” through the establishment of a “United States of Europe” (European Commission, nd; Helm 2016).

In 1949, however, Britain joined with European counterparts in forming the Council of Europe. Winston Churchill’s call for a “United States of Europe” in his famous speech in 1946 was animated by the creation of the Council of Europe. In 1948, delegates from various European countries met at the Congress of Europe, with Churchill presiding, and eventually created the Council of Europe on 5 May 1949.

In 1953, a draft for what would be called the European Political Community, following the call for the United States of Europe was formulated. The draft left for “all degrees of association with the Community by countries not actually willing to join it” (Fogarty 1957, 91), and yet, the British did not want to join. Despite this, Britain all but reassured European counterparts of their steadfast, albeit distant, commitment in the following statement:
We shall certainly work as closely as we possibly can with the new Community. We are happy that the door to association has been left as wide open as possible… I can foresee endless possibilities with regard to association, and he would be a bold man who could predict limits to it. Great Britain will never turn her back upon Europe. That is our determination, fixed and irrevocable (Hope, J., 1953, 162-163).

In 1955, the British were formulating a plan for a free trade association without supranational implications in the hope that the alternative would urge the European nations away from further integration. The creation of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) was established after the acceptance of the Stockholm Convention in 1959 with seven signatories (Austria, Britain, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland). Simultaneously, Britain was overseeing the Commonwealth and the Empire. The rest of Europe, known as the “Inner Six” (Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Germany), was establishing the European Community/European Economic Community with the Treaty of Rome in 1957. The Treaty of Rome reduced custom duties, created a customs union, and essentially created a common market across member states for goods, services, labour, and capital. The Treaty of Rome is one of the core documents for the foundation of the European Union. By the 1960s, the economies of the European Economic Community countries were booming; Britain was forced to rethink their stance toward the European Community if they wished to ever keep up with the prosperity.
Section 2.1: Britain’s First Application to Join Europe

Prime Minister Harold Macmillan: 1957 – 1963

Harold Macmillan was an “enthusiastic participant” since the European project’s inception in 1949 until he entered government two years later in 1951, and an “ideal delegate to the Council of Europe Assembly” (Catterall 2002, 93; 95). As a Conservative, Macmillan was Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1957 – 1963 and oversaw the first application to the European Community. Macmillan said of the change of heart over membership:

For the first time since the Napoleonic era, the major Continental powers are united in a positive economic grouping, with considerable political aspects, which, though not specifically directed against the United Kingdom, may have the effect of excluding us, both from European markets and from consultation in European policy.

Shall we be caught between a hostile, or at least less and less friendly, America and a boastful powerful empire of Charlemagne, now under French, and later bound to come under German control? Is this the real reason for joining the Common Market if we are acceptable, and for abandoning the seven, abandoning British agriculture, abandoning the Commonwealth? It is a grim choice (Greenwood 1996, 118).

When Macmillan made the first application the join the European Community, the French President Charles de Gaulle rejected and vetoed the application, opposed the development of qualified majority voting in the Council of Ministers, and feared United States influence through the involvement of Great Britain as a “Trojan horse into Europe” (Gebbes 2013, 54). De Gaulle’s vision for the European project was to be a force between the United States and the Soviet Union. While Britain, on the other hand, was hand-in-hand with the United States, as per the “special relationship” alliance coming out from the World Wars and shared globalist outlook. In 1962, the United States called for an Atlantic partnership with the European Community, including Britain as a part of it (Gebbes 2013, 55).
In 1963, de Gaulle said the following of his decision to reject Macmillan’s application to join the EC:

Britain is insular, maritime, bound up by its trade, its markets, its food supplies, with the most varied and often the most distant countries. Her activity is essentially industrial and commercial, not agricultural. She has, in all her work, very special, very original, habits and traditions. In short, the nature, structure, circumstances peculiar to England are very different from those of other continentals. How can Britain, in the way that she lives, produces, trades, be incorporated into the Common Market as it has been conceived and functions?… It is predictable that the cohesion of all its members, which would soon be very large, very diverse, would not last for very long and that, in fact, it would seem like a colossal Atlantic community under American dependence and direction, and that is not at all what France wanted to do and is doing, which is a strictly European construction (Grant 2008).

In short, the decision to reject Britain’s application to join the European Community was due to de Gaulle’s belief that Britain was fundamentally too different than the rest of Europe, did not fit the vision of the Economic Community, and posed a threat to the overall aims of the Community with its ties to America. After Macmillan left office, he was followed by Sir Alec Douglas-Home. During this time, Britain was dealing substantially with its overseas territories, colonies, and the Commonwealth.

**Prime Minster Harold Wilson: 1964 – 1970**

Prime Minster Harold Wilson took office in 1964 under a changing economy. Britain was seen as trailing the European Community in economic output. For example, between 1958 and 1968, real earnings in Britain rose by 38% compared to 75% in the European Community (Gebbes 2013). However, historians state that a substantial shift in British policy toward the European Community occurred during the 1960s. After a failed application under
Prime Minister Macmillan, Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson made a second attempt in 1966-7. This application was also vetoed by President de Gaulle in 1967.


In 1973, Britain finally entered the European Economic Community under Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath, but it did not come without stringent negotiations. Negotiations began in 1970 and were led by Geoffrey Rippon. In 1971, the PM’s government published a White Paper with some disadvantages of membership of the EEC. Both main parties, the Conservatives and the Labour Party, were split on the idea of European membership. Heath, though, was a supporter of British membership of the EC. Another factor weighed heavily into the application: de Gaulle was no longer President in France. French President Georges Pompidou supported Britain’s application to join the EC. This is further reflected in statements made by Pompidou:

> Many people believed that Great Britain was not and did not wish to become European, and that Britain wanted to enter the Community only so as to destroy it or divert it from its objectives… Well, ladies and gentlemen, you see before you tonight two men who are convinced to the contrary (Cited in Heath, 1998: 372).

Seemingly, Pompidou was making an allusion to de Gaulle’s staunch disapproval of British involvement in the EC. Following, the 1972 European Communities Act and the Treaty of Accession legislated the accession of the United Kingdom to the European Economic Community and the Common Market, and mandated the EC law to be in effect nationally (direct effect of EC law). Britain’s admittance into the EC came alongside Denmark and Ireland’s, and the total number of EC countries was then nine. However, Britain’s admittance to the EC did not come without intense political division between the Tory and Labour parties (Helm 2016). The Treaty of Accession was signed in Brussels in January 1972 after
UK Parliament vote in October 1971 of 365 to 244 in favour of joining the Community. The House of Lords voted 451 to 58 in favour.

**Prime Minister Harold Wilson: 1974 - 1976**

Harold Wilson became Prime Minister again in 1974 after a bad bout with British economic decline saw Prime Minister Heath out of power. In a turn, Wilson’s political move was to challenge the Heath government over EC membership. The Labour Party was not holistically in favour of joining the EC; in fact, there was a deep division within the Labour Party, even though 69 of its members voted to support accession under Heath. Renegotiations started in 1974 by Foreign Secretary and eventual Prime Minister James Callaghan. The demands, in and of themselves, were seen as ineffectual, and little gains that could have been made through “normal Community channels” (Geddes 2013, 64). Yet, there was something coming that was substantial: a referendum on membership. The pledge to hold a referendum helped PM Wilson heal the divisions in the Labour Party.

In 1975, the United Kingdom European Communities membership referendum was held in order to reaffirm support or withdrawal of support for British membership of the EC. In Labour’s manifesto the previous year, the referendum was promised to the general public after renegotiation of terms of membership. The main areas of concern in the 1974-75 renegotiations regarded the Common Agriculture Policy, Britain’s contribution to the EEC budget, the goals of the economic and monetary Union, harmonisation of VAT, and the sovereignty of Parliament (Miller 2015, 1). In the Labour Party, there was a lifting of the “collective responsibility” normally precluding members of the party from deviating from collective opinion.

After significant debate, including a six-hour HoC Adjournment debate, a Referendum Bill was introduced and received a split 312 votes in favour and 248 votes against (Miller 2015, 4.2: 21). The language of the referendum question was hotly debated, but eventually was as followed: “Do you think the United Kingdom should stay in the
European Community (the Common Market)?” (Miller 2015, 4.2: 21). The results were a resounding positive for the pro-Europeans. Approximately 62% of the votes cast were in favour of Britain remaining in the EEC, with just two Scottish regions of Shetland Islands and Western Isles voting no. Moreover, nearly every voting council area in England and Wales returned over 60% vote in favour of remaining in the EEC, with one Labour council (Mid Glamorgan) in Wales. The overall results of the referendum overall are listed in the following Table 3: Results of the EC Membership Referendum 1975 are as followed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>17,378,581</td>
<td>67.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>8,470,073</td>
<td>32.77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valid Votes</td>
<td>25,848,654</td>
<td>99.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invalid or Blank Votes</td>
<td>54,540</td>
<td>0.21%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Votes</td>
<td>25,903,194</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered/Turnout</td>
<td>40,456,8677</td>
<td>64.03%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Results of EC Membership Referendum 1975

In the chart to the left labelled “1975 Referendum,” the percentages for support of remaining in the European Community are depicted. The chart depicts the results regionally, taking an aggregated percentage for each. As noted, only two regions voted “no” to EC membership: Shetland Islands and Western Isles in Scotland.

After Prime Minister Harold Wilson, Labour PM James Callaghan and former Foreign Secretary took over until 1979. In 1979, Margaret Thatcher, an iconic Prime Minister, changed the way Britain dealt with Europe and international affairs.

**Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher: 1979 – 1990**

Following the 1975 referendum and the obvious support of the British public for continued European integration, Margaret Thatcher took over as Conservative Leader, replacing Edward Heath. Eventually in 1979, Thatcher took office with a pro-European Conservative party. Initially, Thatcher was not entirely opposed to Europe, and her first two terms (1979-83; 1983-87) did not see much of a debate on the topic of European integration. Perhaps the most notable debate in the 1979-84 period was over the Budget, as thrifty ‘Thatchernomics’ expelled superfluous spending. By the end of the 1970s, Britain had become the second largest contributor to the EC budget with contributions of over £1 billion a year, despite having the third-lowest GDP per capita of the nine members (Geddes 2013,
As the EC’s scope widened, Thatcherites saw the EC as a “stultifying bureaucracy” and proposed for increasing free market vigour (Geddes 2013, 67). The remaining years of the Thatcher premiership were spent fighting against the integrative affinity of the EC’s ever growing expansion, which eventually led to her political demise.

Thatcher made a famous speech about the European project which came to be known as the Bruges Speech. Some of the most pertinent excepts establish Thatcher’s Eurosceptic affinities, harken back on the tension between identities of Britishness versus European, and recall the important aspects of British Euroscepticism which were discussed in the previous section:

The European Community is one manifestation of that European identity, but it is not the only one. Britain does not dream of some cozy, isolated existence on the fringes of the European Community. Our destiny is in Europe, as part of the Community. That is not to say that our future lies only in Europe, but nor does that of France or Spain or, indeed, of any other member. The Community is not an end in itself. Nor is it an institutional device to be constantly modified according to the dictates of some abstract intellectual concept. Nor must it be ossified by endless regulation. The European Community is a practical means by which Europe can ensure the future prosperity and security of its people in a world in which there are many other powerful nations and groups of nations (Thatcher 1988).

In perhaps one of the most animated and infamous speeches given by Thatcher over the topic of European integration and involvement, Thatcher made the following points:

Yes, the Commission does want to increase its powers. Yes, it is a non-elected body, and I do not want the Commission to increase its powers at the expense of the House, so of course we are differing. Of course, the President of the Commission, Mr. Delors,
said at a press conference the other day that he wanted the European Parliament to be the democratic body of the Community; he wanted the Commission to be the Executive, and he wanted the Council of Ministers to be the Senate. No! No! No!

Perhaps the Labour party would give all those things up easily? Perhaps it would agree to a single currency: to total abolition of the pound sterling. Perhaps, being totally incompetent with monetary matters, they’d be only too delighted to hand over full responsibility as they did to the IMF, to a central bank. The fact is they have no competence on money and no competence on the economy—so, yes, the right Honourable Gentleman would be glad to hand it all over. What is the point in trying to get elected to Parliament only to hand over your sterling and the powers of this House to Europe? (BBC News Video 2014).

In-party arguing over Britain’s future in Europe eventually led to the political demise of Thatcher’s reign as Prime Minister, as she was ushered out for a more modern approach to Europe. During her premiership, Thatcher’s chancellor John Major persuaded her to link the pound sterling to the European exchange rate mechanism, and eventually, Major took over as Prime Minister.

**Prime Minister John Major: 1990 - 1997**

Prime Minister John Major took over as Conservative leader and Prime Minister in 1997 after Margaret Thatcher’s premiership. Major’s premiership saw the entrance of the United Kingdom into the European Union as it is conceived today; however, the UK’s membership of the European Union came with political tension, a series of renegotiations, and ultimately laid the foundation for eventual rise of hard Euroscepticism in Britain.

During Thatcher’s premiership, Major had convinced her to join the European exchange rate mechanism. Even so, many Conservatives believed that the rate was too high.
for British industry (White 2016, 2). In Europe, however, there was a significant increase in
the desire for further economic and political integration. As a result of the collapse of
communism in the east and central European countries, political integration was a greater
possibility for a united Europe. In 1991 - 1992, the Maastricht Treaty on the European Union
was formulated. Combined with external events in the remainder of Europe, internally the
member states desired to capitalise on the success of the Single European Act, which resulted
in the Intergovernmental Conferences and Maastricht Summit in 1991. Ultimately, the
Maastricht Treaty resulted in the creation of the European Union, committed all its member
states to the single currency (Euro) with some eventual opt outs and a common foreign
policy, and created the notion of “European citizenship.” Additionally, the Common Market
requirements of the freedom of movement of goods, workers, services, and capital as the four
fundamental freedoms of the European Union were reaffirmed.

John Major led British negotiations at the Intergovernmental Conferences. For
Eurosceptics, such as The Bruges Group, Major failed to lead in a genuinely Eurosceptic
position, instead falling to domestic political pressures (Holmes, nd.). In fact, Dr. Martin
Holmes, writing for The Bruges Group, went on to declare Major’s European policy as an
“unequivocal failure” with the following:

The final verdict must be that John Major had the great opportunity to have led the
country toward a fundamental renegotiation of Britain’s relationship with continental
Europe. He could have raised the possibility of outright withdrawal had he not been
obsessed with the reaction of the Conservative Eurofanatics. He could have accepted
the truth that Britain was incapable of changing the European Union from within,
because continental interests and values are profoundly different from our own. He
could have led his party rather than managed it. John Major had the chance to have
broken free from the shackles of compromise which bound him in 1990. He could have
built on the foundations of his predecessor’s 1988 Bruges speech. But he did none of
these things. On Europe, John Major blew it. As Neville Chamberlain is remembered
as the Prime Minister of Munich, so will John Major be remembered as the Prime
Minister of Maastricht. Major’s European policy was an unequivocal failure, the legacy
of which the Conservative party will wrestle with in Opposition for perhaps too long
(Holmes, M., nd.).
For others, Major’s negotiations and relationship with Europe was seen as a compound of a variety of elements such as domestic pressures, preference formation of policies for Britain, and the desire to keep party cohesion in order to keep the Conservative Party in power. The Conservative backbenches’ support was wavering, Michael Howard’s resignation signaled disproval with Major’s handling of the European negotiations, and a looming fear of an approaching election kept much of the tension at bay. The political tension, however, developed even more so through the dichotomy of ideological direction of the Conservative Party following the end of Thatcher’s iconic premiership which shaped a substantial part of the elements of the Conservative Party’s direction. Reflected in much Eurosceptic discourse, the tension over how the Conservative Party would continue in regard to moving into Europe headfirst was evident through the reluctance to sign over to the social policies set forth by the European Union.

Uniquely, building on the theory of liberal intergovernmentalism constructed by Dr. Andrew Moravcsik of Princeton University, Dr. Anthony Forster critiqued the notion of liberal intergovernmentalism in regard to Britain and the negotiations of the Maastricht Treaty. Drawing from these critiques, a valid discussion of the political, economic, and domestic implications of the Major negotiations was made; more interestingly, based on these critiques, comparisons to that of the David Cameron renegotiations before the European Union membership referendum in 2016 can be made and substantiated by the claims of Forster’s paper.

According to Forster’s interpretation of Moravcsik’s work, liberal intergovernmentalism combines domestic and system-based on how governments behave during bargaining situations, a theory on preference formation in policy, rejects neofunctionalism and neorealist theories, and operates on the following assumptions:
Moravcsik Liberal Intergovernmentalism Theory

1. The assumption of rational state behavior;
2. The assumption that as far as government preferences are concerned, “groups articulate preferences and governments aggregate them,” and economic interest of producers shape national preferences;
3. The assumption that policy preferences of a government are shaped by the following factors:
   a. The magnitude of benefits to be gained from cooperation;
   b. The certainty of costs and benefits;
   c. The relative influence of producer groups on policy formation;
4. The assumption that governments have little flexibility in making concessions beyond their own objective interests;
5. The assumption that issue areas are discrete and unconnected; linkage occurs only as a last resort;

Based on this framework, Forster analysed the sections of the negotiations in categories: social policy, foreign and security policy, and the European Parliament (EP). Forster indicated that these three areas of policy resulted in three distinctive outcomes for Britain in regard to the negotiations of the Treaty: resisting negotiation on social policy, agreeing to a compromise on foreign and security policy, and conceding position entirely on the European Parliament (1998, 348).

According to Forster, the cost-benefits of the social policy initiatives from the British perspective were motivated by political rationale rather than economic rationale (1998, 348). Moreover, domestic influence on the British government from private groups was weakened as a result of the Government insulating European discussions from its own domestic groups and isolating political opponents from access to information on the matter (1998, 349). As a decision maker, Major was receiving pressure instead from other governments, notably the French, and was restricted by his own policy decisions outside of the EU negotiations (1998, 349-350). Moreover, Thatcher’s previous policy decisions played a role in Major’s view on his own European policy concessions. Essentially, he believed that he could sell his version
of policy as an “incremental adjustment” which “codified existing procedures in operation during [Thatcher’s] premiership” (Forster 1998, 352).

Ultimately, John Major signed the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. He received opt-outs for the Euro single currency and the social chapter. As part of “variable geometry” strategy, Britain was allowed to opt out of the social chapter covering workers’ rights (White 2016, 2).

On the signing of the treaty, Major concluded with the following:

However, despite that satisfactory outcome, no one in the House should assume that that argument has been settled for all time. Some Community member states will go on pressing for a united states of Europe, with all co-operation within one institutional framework. We shall continue to argue forcefully against that proposition, and I believe that we will win the argument in the future as we have thus far.

The treaty on political union was a challenge as well as an opportunity. The challenge was to ensure that we checked the encroachment of the Community’s institutions. The opportunity was to make the Community work better. In the event, a large number of the agreements that were reached stemmed specifically from proposals that were put forward by the United Kingdom. It is worth stating the extent of those proposals. Our proposals were for stronger European security and defence co-operation, making the Western European Union the defence pillar of the European Union, while preserving the primacy of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. For us, the prime importance of NATO was a vital national interest, and that has been secured.

Our proposals were also for a common foreign and security policy going beyond the Single European Act, but remaining outside the treaty of Rome and beyond the reach of the European Court. They were for co-operation on interior and justice matters, but also for co-operation outside the treaty of Rome and the jurisdiction of the European Court. They were also for co-operation for greater financial accountability, for a treaty article on subsidiarity--an article that specifically enshrines the crucial concept that the Community should undertake only those measures that could not be achieved at a national level--and for the right of the European Court of Justice to impose fines on those member states that fail to comply with its judgments, or with Community law, having previously signed up to it. We won agreement to all those proposals, and it was vital to the interests of this country that we did (Major 1991).

Demands starting coming up in 1992 for an in/out referendum on UK’s membership in the European Union, followed by economic problems which forced Britain out of the ERM (White 2016, 2). The United Kingdom Independence Party (Ukip) came out of this period, starting as the Anti-Federalist League opposed to the Maastricht Treaty. In 1993, Anti-Federalist League was renamed as the United Kingdom Independence Party. Additionally, Eurosceptic parties such as the Referendum Party were established. Economic problems in
Britain seemingly pushed Major out of the premiership, leading to Tony Blair’s Labour government election in 1997.

1997 – 2016: Blair, Cameron, and the Build-Up to 2016 Referendum

Looking to the recent premierships of the 1990s and into the late 2000s, Euroscepticism has still played a major factor in Britain’s policies toward the European Union (established in 1992 with ratification of the Maastricht Treaty). As controversial as membership of the EC and EEC, Britain’s membership of the European Union proved to be yet another divisive issue within the Conservative and Labour parties. After a shaky EU-prone Tory government under John Major post-Thatcher, Labour Leader Tony Blair committed to strengthening UK-EU relations in 1994 (Helm 2016). Following Tony Blair, Gordon Brown was pro-EU, but did not support the Euro single currency. Tories grew more anti-EU with leaders such as William Hague and Iain Duncan Smith leading charges against Treaty of Amsterdam and Treaty of Lisbon, which brought deeper integration to the EU member states (Miller 2009, 2). As a result of the increasing integration, Tories started to talk openly of European Union exit. In 2005, Conservative Party Leader and eventual Prime Minister David Cameron promised to lead with Eurosceptic tendencies (Telm 2013). Now, in 2016, David Cameron brought the United Kingdom to the ultimate Eurosceptic culmination: a referendum on exiting the European Union.
Chapter III: The European Union Referendum - Before the Vote

In 2013, David Cameron pledged for an in/out referendum on Britain’s membership of the European Union if the Conservative Party won the general election. Similarly to Major in optimism for his ability to successfully renegotiate terms with the European Union, Cameron noted that he would first renegotiate in key areas of concern regarding the UK’s membership of the European Union. The then Labour Leader Ed Miliband accused David Cameron of placating in fear to the Eurosceptic right-wing group United Kingdom Independence Party, whose polling numbers were steadily rising. At the time, Ian Watson of BBC News wrote that Eurosceptics in the Conservative Party would be “pleased” with the idea of a referendum, but noted several key aspects of its potential success:

- Cameron’s Conservative Party would have to win the election in order to act on the referendum promise;
- European partners would have to be willing to renegotiate the key elements of Cameron’s renegotiation proposals (Watson 2016).

Additionally, Cameron would have to overcome the disapproval of many in opposition, including members of his own party, the opposition parties, and of his counterparts in Europe. At the time, Nick Clegg, leader of the Liberal Democrats and then deputy prime minister, indicated that he thought pursing a “wholesale renegotiation” of the UK’s membership of the European Union would cause “years of uncertainty” and was not “in the national interest” (BBC News 2013).

In January 2013, David Cameron gave a speech on his plans for a referendum on British membership of the EU. In conclusion, Cameron said:

If we left the European Union, it would be a one-way ticket, not a return. So we will have time for a proper, reasoned debate. At the end of that debate you, the British people, will decide. And I say to our European partners, frustrated as some of them no doubt are by Britain's attitude: work with us on this. Consider the extraordinary steps which the Eurozone members are taking to keep the euro together, steps which a year ago would have seemed impossible. It does not seem to me that the steps which would be needed to make Britain – and others – more comfortable in their relationship in the European Union are inherently so outlandish or unreasonable. And just as I believe that Britain should want to remain in the EU so the EU should want
us to stay. For an EU without Britain, without one of Europe's strongest powers, a
country which in many ways invented the single market, and which brings real heft to
Europe's influence on the world stage, which plays by the rules and which is a force
for liberal economic reform would be a very different kind of European Union. And it
is hard to argue that the EU would not be greatly diminished by Britain's departure.

Let me finish today by saying this. I have no illusions about the scale of the task
ahead. I know there will be those who say the vision I have outlined will be
impossible to achieve. That there is no way our partners will co-operate. That the
British people have set themselves on a path to inevitable exit. And that if we aren't
comfortable being in the EU after 40 years, we never will be. But I refuse to take such
a defeatist attitude – either for Britain or for Europe. Because with courage and
conviction I believe we can deliver a more flexible, adaptable and open European
Union in which the interests and ambitions of all its members can be met. With
courage and conviction I believe we can achieve a new settlement in which Britain
can be comfortable and all our countries can thrive.

And when the referendum comes let me say now that if we can negotiate such an
arrangement, I will campaign for it with all my heart and soul. Because I believe
something very deeply. That Britain's national interest is best served in a flexible,
adaptable and open European Union and that such a European Union is best with
Britain in it.

Over the coming weeks, months and years, I will not rest until this debate is won. For
the future of my country. For the success of the European Union. And for the
prosperity of our peoples for generations to come (Cameron 2013).

In 2015, David Cameron and the Conservative Party unexpectedly won the General Election
with a 330 seat majority. Thus, the onus was on Cameron to follow through with his
manifesto commitment to renegotiate membership terms followed by an in/out, yes/no
membership referendum. That promise led to the creation of the European Union
Referendum Act in 2015. During the Queen’s Speech in 2015, the announcement was made
regarding the Government’s intention to introduce a bill on UK membership in the European
Union. The bill was introduced and sponsored by Phillip Hammond, then Secretary of State
for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs in late May 2015. The Act laid out provisions and
guidelines for the Referendum that would take place no later than the end of December 2017.
A copy of the pertinent pages of the European Union Referendum Act 2015 are available in
the appendix of this paper.
European Union Referendum Act 2015

2015 CHAPTER 36

An Act to make provision for the holding of a referendum in the United Kingdom and Gibraltar on whether the United Kingdom should remain a member of the European Union.

[17th December 2015]

BE IT ENACTED by the Queen’s most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

The referendum

1 The referendum

(1) A referendum is to be held on whether the United Kingdom should remain a member of the European Union.

(2) The Secretary of State must, by regulations, appoint the day on which the referendum is to be held.

(3) The day appointed under subsection (2)—
   (a) must be no later than 31 December 2017,
   (b) must not be 5 May 2016, and
   (c) must not be 4 May 2017.

(4) The question that is to appear on the ballot papers is—
   “Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?”

(5) The alternative answers to that question that are to appear on the ballot papers are—
   “Remain a member of the European Union
   Leave the European Union”.

(6) In Wales, there must also appear on the ballot papers—

(7) the following Welsh version of the question—
   “A ddylai’r Deyrnas Unedig aros yn aelod o’r Undeb Ewropeaidd neu adael yr Undeb Ewropeaidd?”, and

(b) the following Welsh versions of the alternative answers—
   “Aros yn aelod o’r Undeb Ewropeaidd
   Gadael yr Undeb Ewropeaidd”.

45
2 Entitlement to vote in the referendum

(1) Those entitled to vote in the referendum are—
   (a) the persons who, on the date of the referendum, would be entitled to vote as electors at a parliamentary election in any constituency,
   (b) the persons who, on that date, are disqualified by reason of being peers from voting as electors at parliamentary elections but—
      (i) would be entitled to vote as electors at a local government election in any electoral area in Great Britain,
      (ii) would be entitled to vote as electors at a local election in any district electoral area in Northern Ireland, or
      (iii) would be entitled to vote as electors at a European Parliamentary election in any electoral region by virtue of section 3 of the Representation of the People Act 1985 (peers resident outside the United Kingdom), and
   (c) the persons who, on the date of the referendum—
      (i) would be entitled to vote in Gibraltar as electors at a European Parliamentary election in the combined electoral region in which Gibraltar is comprised, and
      (ii) fall within subsection (2).

(2) A person falls within this subsection if the person is either—
   (a) a Commonwealth citizen, or
   (b) a citizen of the Republic of Ireland.

(3) In subsection (1)(b)(i) “local government election” includes a municipal election in the City of London (that is, an election to the office of mayor, alderman, common councilman or sheriff and also the election of any officer elected by the mayor, aldermen and liverymen in common hall).

3 Further provision about the referendum

Part 7 of the 2000 Act (general provision about referendums) applies to the referendum but see also—
   (a) Schedules 1 and 2 (which make, in relation to the referendum, further provision about campaigning and financial controls, including provision modifying Part 7 of the 2000 Act), and
   (b) Schedule 3 (which makes further provision about the referendum, including provision modifying Part 7 of the 2000 Act).

4 Conduct regulations, etc

(1) The Minister may by regulations—
   (a) make provision about voting in the referendum and otherwise about the conduct of the referendum, which may include provision
European Union Referendum Act 2015 (c. 36)

3

corresponding to any provision of Schedules 2 and 3 to the 2011 Act (with or without modifications);
(b) apply for the purposes of the referendum, with or without modifications—
   (i) any provision of the 1983 Act, or
   (ii) any other enactment relating to elections or referendums, including provisions creating offences;
(c) further modify the 2000 Act for the purposes of the referendum;
(d) modify or exclude any provision of any other enactment (other than this Act) that applies to the referendum.

(2) The Minister may by regulations make provision for and in connection with the combination of the poll for the referendum with any one or more of the following—
   (a) the poll for any election specified in the regulations;
   (b) the poll for any other referendum specified in the regulations.
Regulations under this subsection may amend or modify any enactment (but may not alter the date of the poll for any such election or other referendum).

(3) The reference in subsection (2) to any enactment includes—
   (a) the definition of “counting officer” in section 11(1),
   (b) section 11(2), and
   (c) Schedule 3,
but does not include any other provision of this Act.

(4) The Minister may by regulations make such amendments or modifications of this Act or any other enactment as appear to the Minister to be necessary because the referendum is to be held in Gibraltar as well as the United Kingdom.

(5) Regulations under this section may, in particular—
   (a) make provision for disregarding alterations in a register of electors;
   (b) make provision extending or applying to (or extending or applying only to) Gibraltar or any part of the United Kingdom;
   (c) make different provision for different purposes.

(6) Before making any regulations under this section, the Minister must consult the Electoral Commission.

(7) Consultation carried out before the commencement of this section is as effective for the purposes of subsection (6) as consultation carried out after that commencement.

5 Gibraltar

(1) Regulations under section 4 which extend to Gibraltar may extend and apply to Gibraltar, with or without modifications, any enactment relating to referendums or elections that applies in any part of the United Kingdom.

(2) The capacity (apart from this Act) of the Gibraltar legislature to make law for Gibraltar is not affected by the existence of—
   (a) section 4, or
   (b) anything in any other provision of this Act which enables particular provision to be made under section 4,
and in this Act “Gibraltar conduct law” means any provision of law made in and for Gibraltar which corresponds to any provision that has been or could be made for any part of the United Kingdom by regulations under section 4.

(3) Subsection (2) does not affect the operation of the Colonial Laws Validity Act 1865 in relation to Gibraltar conduct law.

6 Duty to publish information on outcome of negotiations between member States

(1) The Secretary of State must publish a report which contains (alone or with other material)—
   (a) a statement setting out what has been agreed by member States following negotiations relating to the United Kingdom’s request for reforms to address concerns over its membership of the European Union, and
   (b) the opinion of the Government of the United Kingdom on what has been agreed.

(2) The report must be published before the beginning of the final 10 week period.

(3) In this section “the final 10 week period” means the period of 10 weeks ending with the date of the referendum.

(4) A copy of the report published under this section must be laid before Parliament by the Secretary of State.

7 Duty to publish information about membership of the European Union etc

(1) The Secretary of State must publish a report which contains (alone or with other material)—
   (a) information about rights, and obligations, that arise under European Union law as a result of the United Kingdom’s membership of the European Union, and
   (b) examples of countries that do not have membership of the European Union but do have other arrangements with the European Union (describing, in the case of each country given as an example, those arrangements).

(2) The report must be published before the beginning of the final 10 week period.

(3) In this section “the final 10 week period” means the period of 10 weeks ending with the date of the referendum.

(4) A copy of the report published under this section must be laid before Parliament by the Secretary of State.

8 Power to modify section 125 of the 2000 Act

(1) In this section—
   (a) “section 125” means section 125 of the 2000 Act (restriction on publication etc of promotional material by central and local government etc), as modified by paragraph 38 of Schedule 1, and
   (b) “section 125(2)” means subsection (2) of section 125 (which prevents material to which section 125 applies from being published by or on
behalf of certain persons and bodies during the 28 days ending with the date of
the poll).

(2) The Minister may by regulations make provision modifying section 125, for the
purposes of the referendum, so as to exclude from section 125(2) cases where—
(a) material is published—
   (i) in a prescribed way, or
   (ii) by a communication of a prescribed kind, and
(b) such other conditions as may be prescribed are met.

(3) The communications that may be prescribed under subsection (2)(a)(ii) include, in
particular, oral communications and communications with the media.

(4) Before making any regulations under this section, the Minister must consult the
Electoral Commission.

(5) Consultation carried out before the commencement of this section is as effecti
ve for the purposes of subsection (4) as consultation carried out after that commencement.

(6) Any regulations under subsection (2) must be made not less than 4 months before the
date of the referendum.

(7) In this section—
   “prescribed” means prescribed by the regulations;
   “publish” has the same meaning as in section 125.

(8) This section does not affect the generality of section 4(1)(c).

Supplemental

9 Regulations

(1) Any power under this Act to make regulations, apart from the power of the Electoral
Commission under paragraph 16(10) of Schedule 3, is exercisable by statutory
instrument.

(2) Subject to subsection (3), a statutory instrument containing regulations under this Act
may not be made unless a draft of the instrument has been laid before, and approved
by a resolution of, each House of Parliament.

(3) Subsection (2) does not apply to a statutory instrument containing only regulations
within subsection (4).

(4) Regulations within this subsection are any of the following—
   (a) regulations under section 13;
   (b) regulations made by the Minister under paragraph 16 of Schedule 3.

(5) Regulations under this Act, other than regulations under section 13 or paragraph 16 of
Schedule 3, may contain supplemental, consequential, incidental, transitional or
saving provision.

(6) Section 26 of the Welsh Language Act 1993 (power to prescribe Welsh forms) applies
in relation to regulations under this Act as it applies in relation to Acts of Parliament.
10 Financial provisions

(1) The following are to be paid out of money provided by Parliament—
   (a) expenditure incurred under this Act by the Minister;
   (b) any increase attributable to this Act in the sums payable under any other Act out of money so provided.

(2) There is to be paid into the Consolidated Fund any increase attributable to this Act in the sums payable into that Fund under any other Act.

“registered party” and “minor party” have the same meaning as in the 2000 Act (see section 160(1) of that Act);
“registration officer” has the meaning given by section 8 of the 1983 Act;
“responsible person”, in relation to a permitted participant, means the responsible person within the meaning given by section 105(2) of the 2000 Act (as modified by paragraph 5 of Schedule 1);
“voting area” has the meaning given by subsection (2).

(2) Each of the following, as it exists on the day of the referendum, is a “voting area” for the purposes of this Act—
   (a) a district in England for which there is a district council;
   (b) a county in England in which there are no districts with councils;
   (c) a London borough;
   (d) the City of London (including the Inner and Middle Temples);
   (e) the Isles of Scilly;
   (f) a county or county borough in Wales;
   (g) a local government area in Scotland;
   (h) Northern Ireland;
   (i) Gibraltar.

(3) References in this Act to a named Act (with no date) are to the Gibraltar Act of that name.

Final provisions

12 Extent

(1) This Act extends to the whole of the United Kingdom and to Gibraltar.

(2) For the purposes of the referendum, Part 7 of the 2000 Act (whose extent is set out in section 163 of that Act) extends also to Gibraltar.

13 Commencement

(1) The following provisions come into force on the day on which this Act is passed—
   sections 9
to 12; this
section;
section 14.

(2) The remaining provisions of this Act come into force on such day as the
Minister may by regulations appoint.

(3) Different days may be appointed for different purposes.

14 Short title

This Act may be cited as the European Union Referendum Act 2015.
Analysis of the EU Referendum Act

Acknowledging the fact that this is only an excerpt from the Act, there are remaining sections which are not included, but will be discussed. The Act in total has fourteen sections and three schedules.

Section 1: The Referendum

“A referendum is to be held on whether the United Kingdom should remain a member of the European Union.

The Secretary of State must, by regulations, appoint the day on which the referendum is to be held.

The day appointed under subsection (2) –

A. Must be no later than 31 December 2017
B. Must not be 5 May 2016, and
C. Must not be 4 May 2017.”

Hammond tabled an amendment to the Bill indicating that the referendum vote could not be held on May 5 because of regional elections in England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

In Subsection 4, the ballot language for the referendum is dictated. Before the Bill was accepted, the language was challenged and ultimately changed. Before the alterations, the ballot language was as followed: “Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union?” This necessitated a “yes” or “no” response, rather than a “remain” or “leave” answer. On the assessment of the ballot language, Jenny Watson, Chair of the Electoral Commission said the following:

Any referendum question must be as clear as possible so that voters understand the important choice they are being asked to make. We have tested the proposed question with voters and received views from potential campaigners, academics and plain language experts. Whilst voters understood the question in the bill some campaigners and members of the public feel the wording is not balanced and there was a perception of bias. The alternative question we have
recommended addresses this. It is now for parliament to discuss our advice and decide which question wording should be used (Syal and Watt 2015).

Cameron accepted the language alteration to the ballot, and the ballot question was changed in September 2015. In Wales, the question was available in both English and Welsh languages.

Section 2: Entitlement to vote in the referendum

(1) Those entitled to vote in the referendum are—

(a) the persons who, on the date of the referendum, would be entitled to vote as electors at a parliamentary election in any constituency,

(b) the persons who, on that date, are disqualified by reason of being peers from voting as electors at parliamentary elections but—

(i) would be entitled to vote as electors at a local government election in any electoral area in Great Britain,

(ii) would be entitled to vote as electors at a local election in any district electoral area in Northern Ireland, or

(iii) would be entitled to vote as electors at a European Parliamentary election in any electoral region by virtue of section 3 of the Representation of the People Act 1985 (peers resident outside the United Kingdom), and

(c) the persons who, on the date of the referendum—

(i) would be entitled to vote in Gibraltar as electors at a European Parliamentary election in the combined electoral region in which Gibraltar is comprised, and

(ii) fall within subsection (2).

(2) A person falls within this subsection if the person is either—

(a) a Commonwealth citizen, or

(b) a citizen of the Republic of Ireland.

(3) In subsection (1)(b)(i) “local government election” includes a municipal election in the City of London (that is, an election to the office of mayor, alderman, common councilman or sheriff and also the election of any officer elected by the mayor, aldermen and liverymen in common hall).

In as early as 2012, some British politicians were calling for allowing 16 and 17 year-olds to vote in “any referendum on the UK’s future in the EU” (BBC News 2012). Many of the supporters of the age extension cited the Scottish independence referendum, which would allow 16 years of age as a minimum. However, in 2015, the House of Commons and the House of Lords rejected the notion of an extension of
franchise to 16 and 17 year olds (Wintour 2015). Voting rights were extended to those with British, Irish, and commonwealth citizenship over the age of 18, and to British nationals who lived overseas for less than fifteen years at the time of vote. Additionally, peers were allowed to vote if they were allowed to vote in local government elections. Those citizens in Gibraltar were also allowed to vote as per Subsections 1(c) and 2.

In Section 6, there is a mandate for the Secretary of State to publish a report which includes a statement setting out the plan for renegotiation of the membership of the European Union. The report included the Government’s opinions, and it should be published and sent before Parliament for approval. Leading into Section 7, the duty to publish information about the membership of the European Union, including but not limited to the rights of member states, obligations under EU law, and reports of arrangements that other countries have with the EU despite not being members of the EU. The Government published reports such as *The best of both worlds: the United Kingdom's special status in a reformed European Union*, *The process for withdrawing from the European Union*, and circulated a EU vote pamphlet, as seen on the following page (43). The following is the cover of the pamphlet circulated by the Home Office.
Why the Government believes that voting to remain in the European Union is the best decision for the UK.

The EU referendum, Thursday, 23rd June 2016.

An important decision for the UK

On Thursday, 23rd June there will be a referendum. It’s your opportunity to decide if the UK remains in the European Union (EU).

It’s a big decision. One that will affect you, your family and your children for decades to come.

The UK has secured a special(304,483),(494,748) status in a reformed EU:

- we will not join the euro
- we will keep our own border controls
- the UK will not be part of further European political integration
- there will be tough new restrictions on access to our welfare system for new EU migrants
- we have a commitment to reduce EU red tape

The Government believes the UK should remain in the EU.

This leaflet sets out the facts, and explains why the Government believes a vote to remain in the EU is in the best interests of the people of the UK. It shows some of the choices the UK would face if there were a vote to leave.

If you would like further information, please visit the Government’s EU referendum website at EU Referendum.gov.uk
The Government-circulated pamphlets cost nearly £9.3 million pounds to produce. Many Eurosceptic politicians, such as former London Mayor Boris Johnson, declared the pamphlets as a waste of government money and a scare tactic. The Government was able to spend money on the campaign ahead of the purdah period, 28 days before the referendum on June 23.

While the Conservative government was creating pamphlets and campaigning, as well as dealing with the running of the United Kingdom, something special was occurring in the background. A rising, populist movement was brewing behind David Cameron’s back. Meanwhile, the other parties were mobilising to campaign for Leave or Remain. Little did the British realise that a smaller, less prominent party would make such a large impact on one of the most historical votes in British history.
Section 3.1: The Campaigns

During the campaigns before the EU referendum, there were essentially two sides: Remain and Leave. Each political party, as well as organisations, celebrities, and international figures, supported either Remain or Leave. The following section will give an overview of the activities of each of the political parties in the United Kingdom, events that took place during the campaigns, and it will lead into a discussion of each of the UK’s countries’ relationships with the EU.

The following chart the amount of Members of European Parliament and Members of Parliament each party has at the time of publication. Additionally, the MEP chart has brief notes on the party’s stance on the EU, which will be detailed in further sections or country profiles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>United Kingdom Independence Party</th>
<th>24 MEPs</th>
<th>Complete withdrawal from the EU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Green Party</td>
<td>3 MEPs</td>
<td>Opposed EU Constitution and Lisbon Treaty, Euro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish National Party</td>
<td>2 MEPs</td>
<td>Critical of EU’s fishery laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Unionist Party</td>
<td>1 MEP</td>
<td>Opposes Euro, wants fishing to be locally controlled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative Party</td>
<td>19 MEPs</td>
<td>Opposes further EU integration, Euro, holding referendum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour Party</td>
<td>20 MEPs</td>
<td>Positions uncertain on Euro, seemingly pro-EU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Democrats</td>
<td>1 MEP</td>
<td>Pro-EU, advocate for reforming budget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinn Fein</td>
<td>1 MEP</td>
<td>North Irish, advocates for sovereignty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaid Cymru</td>
<td>1 MEP</td>
<td>Wants independent Wales within EU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulster Conservatives &amp; Unionists</td>
<td>1 MEP</td>
<td>Opposes further extension of EU power &amp; Euro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Members of European Parliament and Brief Notes on EU stance

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Sources: Interpretation of Party Manifestos
Table 5: Composition of UK Parliament during EU Referendum Debate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservative Party</td>
<td>329 (Majority &lt; Party in Power)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour Party</td>
<td>230 (Party in Opposition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish National Party</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Democrats</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Unionist</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinn Fein</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaid Cymru</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Democratic and Labour</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulster Unionist</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom Independence Party</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Party</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Blue: Party in Power    Red: Opposition Party

Conservative Party

The Conservative Party has 19 Members of European Parliament, had 330 Members of Parliament awarded in the 2015 election, and was the party in power during the EU referendum campaigns. The Conservative Party was led by Prime Minister David Cameron of Witney. The Conservatives, while historically Eurosceptic, adopted a pro-EU stance and backed the Remain campaign. However, over fifty Conservative MPs stated intentions to vote to leave the European Union. In the Appendix, there is a data set with MPs grouped by party and intended vote.

During the campaigns, the issue of suspending collective responsibility, just as it was in the 1975 EC Membership referendum, arose. Collective responsibility is a convention under which decision makers (Members of Parliament) collectively speak
as one unit; cabinet decisions are shared as a group. For Cameron, collective responsibility was more than just a parliamentary procedure. The command of the Conservative Party’s collective responsibility to act as a unitary body was essential in order to maintain the perception of a cohesive goal: remain in the European Union. In London School of Economics and Political Science’s Brexit Blog, Chris Malone wrote the following on collective responsibility:

As the government’s supreme decision-making body the Cabinet needs to give clear direction and exert leadership over the parliamentary rank and file, not to mention the country at large. A cabinet prone to regular public disagreement over major policy issues would be both ridiculed and practically ineffective (Malone 2016).

Before the vote, Conservative MPs such as notoriously Eurosceptic Iain Duncan Smith told Cameron to be decisive on the issue of suspending collective responsibility, followed by former party leader Michael Howard in December, and Leader of the Commons Christ Grayling and Northern Ireland Secretary Theresa Villiers in January amongst others (Bennet 2016, 192). The Conservative Party’s Eurosceptic members were growing frustrated with Cameron’s lack of position on the matter, and some threatened resignation. Weighing the points, Cameron feared the resignation of Eurosceptic cabinet members as a sign of the Conservative Party’s weakening and disarray. Ultimately, Cameron said the following, reassuring those Eurosceptics:

As I indicated before Christmas, there will be a clear government position, but it will open to individual ministers to take a different personal position while remaining part of the government (Bennett 2016, 193).
While trying to keep the frays of his party intact, Cameron was also dealing with his ambitious renegotiation plans with the European Commission President Jean-Claude Junker. In late January, Cameron met with President Junker over the proposed “emergency brake” for allowing the United Kingdom to stop paying benefits to new EU migrants if public services were under excessive strain (Bennett 2016, 194). Two days later, Cameron left the Commission with no deal; yet, later on Cameron met with European Council President Donald Tusk to discuss the timeline of the emergency brake and its immediate effect after the UK’s referendum would be held (Palmeri 2016). After the dinner, Tusk sent out the following Tweet from his personal Twitter account:

![Image 2: European Council President Donald Tusk Tweet](image-url)
Cameron, on the other hand, was rather optimistic about the discussion. A few minutes before Tusk, Cameron tweeted from his personal Twitter account the following message:

Image 3: United Kingdom Prime Minister David Cameron Tweet

Negotiations with the European Union

Prime Minister David Cameron led renegotiations with the European Union. In an attempt to receive a “special status” with the EU, Cameron went in with several key sectors of the UK’s membership in mind. The BBC published a report comparing the draft proposals by European Council president Donald Tusk and the final text compared to what David Cameron asked for. The following are summarised versions of each alongside contextual information on the issue.

**Sovereignty:** David Cameron wanted to Britain to opt out of the “ever closer union” with no more additional political integration. He also wanted greater powers to the national parliaments, so that they might block EU-level legislation.

Cameron secured a commitment to exempt Britain from the “ever closer union” of continued political integration into the European Union. His inclusion of the “red-card
mechanism,” which is designed to effectively block or veto Commission proposals also was considered. Key areas in repatriation of EU social and employment law, for example, is no longer on the table (BBC EU Referendum 2016).

**Migrants and Welfare Benefits:** In the Conservative Manifesto, the following was noted: “We will insist the EU migrants who want to claim tax credits and child benefit must live here and contribute to our country for a minimum of four years.” Cameron had to compromise on the aspect of the overall deal, especially in regard to child benefits, due to opposition from Poland. The four-year emergency brake, part of his plan, on in-work benefits, but new migrants would have had tax credits phased in over four years. The maximum would have been set at seven, rather than the thirteen he asked for. His demand to ban migrant workers from sending child benefit money back home failed.

**Economics, Eurozone, and Safeguards for City of London:** Cameron wanted an explicit recognition that the Euro is not the only currency of the EU in order to protect the countries outside of the Eurozone. He wanted safeguards on the steps toward financial union imposition on non-Eurozone members, and he wanted reassurance that the UK would not have to contribute to Eurozone bailouts. He got guarantees that countries outside the Eurozone would not be required to pay euro bailouts, but France put up resistance against UK on financial regulations.

**Competitiveness:** Cameron wanted a “target for the reduction of the ‘burden’ of excessive regulation and extending the single market” (BBC EU Referendum, 2016). This was deemed one of the least controversial of Cameron’s negotiations. Promises were made for working on the issue.
The Rogue Conservatives

In February 2016, there were 110 Conservative MPs who wanted to leave the European Union. One of the most famous rogue Conservative was Boris Johnson, who had served as MP for Uxbridge and South Ruislip, MP for Henley, and Mayor of London. In March, Johnson wrote in an exclusive column of *The Telegraph* a 2,000 word op-ed on Brexit. His conclusion concisely ended his piece in support of leaving the European Union:

This is a once-in-a-lifetime chance to vote for real change in Britain’s relations with Europe. This is the only opportunity we will ever have to show that we care about self-rule. A vote to Remain will be taken in Brussels as a green light for more federalism, and for the erosion of democracy (Johnson 2016).

In May, a few weeks before the vote, Boris Johnson made an impactful speech on the EU referendum. Before which, Johnson was under scrutiny for his offhanded comments about President Barrack Obama’s pro-EU sentiments, which some people deemed racist and inappropriate. Seemingly alluding to the overall sentiment that Leave was a racist group, Johnson said the following:

So I find if offensive, insulting, irrelevant and positively cretinous to be told – sometimes by people who can barely speak a foreign language – that I belong to a group of small-minded xenophobes; because the truth is it is Brexit that is now the great project of European liberalism, and I am afraid that it is the European Union – for all the high ideals with which it began, that now represents the ancient regime.

It is we who are speaking up for the people, and it is they who are defending an obscurantist and universalist system of government that is now well past its sell by date and which is ever more remote from ordinary voters.

It is we in the Leave Camp – not they – who stand in the tradition of the liberal cosmopolitan European enlightenment – not just of Locke and Wilkes, but of Rousseau and Voltaire; and though they are many, and though they are well-funded, and though we know that they can call on unlimited taxpayer funds for their leaflets, it is we few, we happy few who have the inestimable advantage of believing strongly in our cause, and that we will be vindicated by history;
and we will win for exactly the same reason that the Greeks beat the Persians at Marathon – because they are fighting for an outdated absolutist ideology, and we are fighting for freedom (Johnson, 2016).

For the Conservatives, the biggest problem other than MPs inside the party dissenting was the splinter far-right group, United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), which initially sought solely to have the UK leave the European Union. As the years progressed, UKIP’s policies did as well. UKIP became a viable threat to the Conservatives, gaining momentum in Eurosceptic areas, a majority in the European Parliament, and receiving one Member of Parliament. Some scholars have noted UKIP as a “mutiny” within the Conservative Party, noting its appeal as serving as a new party for Conservatives who disapprove of Cameron’s political leadership (Ford and Goodwin, 278; Parris 2014). For UKIP, however, the downfall was in-party fighting, political tensions, and mismanagement of the party and its aims. In United Kingdom Independence Party: Euroscepticism’s Penultimate Moment, right wing extremism will be explained in further detail, including but not limited to its effects on the Brexit vote, the implications for other right-wing groups in Britain and Europe, its motivations and motivators, and key figures.

**Labour Party**

The Labour Party was the party in opposition during the EU referendum; Labour had 20 MEPs at the time of the EU referendum. Jeremy Corbyn was the leader of Labour at the time, and led the Labour campaign for Remain. Labour were more ambiguous on their campaign aims than the Conservatives. While the Conservatives were rather open about division, the Labour Party seemed to pretend theirs did not exist. Some Labour MPs accused Corbyn, who has historically been Eurosceptic, of not leading Labour’s Remain campaign full-spiritedly. Furthermore, MPs accused Corbyn of being “out of touch” and “lacking enthusiasm” for the cause (Guardian
Politics Letters 2016). Labour had a leadership crisis during the EU referendum. Corbyn maintained control of the Labour Party, but still did not ever solidify himself as a stronghold for Remain. Jeremy Corbyn, while leader of the Labour movement to Remain in the EU, had ties with Eurosceptic MPs, voted against membership of the EC in the 1975 Referendum, voted against the Maastricht Treaty in 1993, and voted against the Lisbon Treaty in 2008. To some, this caused the question of Corbyn’s ability to lead the Remain campaign; to others, this was indicative of political motivations to keep cohesive party unity. However, Corbyn’s views transcend that of simple political party motivations shielding his “true” intentions. Corbyn is indeed a leftist leader, one which identifies as a democratic socialist. His career has highlights in union advocacy, Socialist societies, journalism, political activism, and eventual election to Parliament. If his views are as leftist as some analysts would claim, it could be so that Corbyn still sees the European Union, in and of itself, an exemplification of an economic entity which undermines the Social aspect of Labour’s policy goals. Despite these assumptions, Corbyn managed to stand his ground on the EU referendum debate, however unconvincingly.

The Labour Party had a campaign group called Labour In for Britain with the slogan: Britain is better off in Europe. MP Alan Johnson set up Labour In for Britain with the guiding support and authorisation of the Labour Party (BBC 2015). Sharing similar names, it was independent of Britain Stronger in Europe. Alan Johnson said of the EU referendum, “There is nothing patriotic about condemning this country to isolation. The first duty of any government is to keep our country safe and I firmly believe that leaving the EU would fail that test” (BBC 2015).

On 16 June 2016, just days before the EU referendum, the Labour Member of Parliament for Batley and Spen was murdered in West Yorkshire by a local
constituent, Thomas Mair, who reportedly had ties to British nationalist and neo-Nazi groups. Some witnesses reported that Mair screamed “Britain first!” (BBC News 2016) during the attack. The murder of Cox was the first against an MP since 1990.

The murder occurred one week before the EU referendum took place. The campaigns suspended activities. Each of the biggest political parties in Britain reported intentions to not contest for the seat; however, a British National Party’s former member controversially announced intentions to run under the Liberty GB party banner. EU chief Martin Shulz blamed the “nasty referendum” for Cox’s murder. Support for the EU reportedly weakened after Cox’s murder, with some polls indicating the week of Cox’s murder that 57% of respondents saying they would vote to leave the EU (Hjelmgaard 2016).

**Liberal Democrats**

Liberal Democrats were once part of the Coalition government alongside Conservative Party which promised the EU referendum. However, the Liberal Democrats were mostly in agreement that EU membership was preferred over leaving, and solidly backed Remain. Lib Dems indicated that they respect the results of the referendum, backed lowering the voting age to 16 and 17, back a Parliamentary vote on Article 50 (which starts the withdrawal process), and believes the campaigns were unfair and lied (Liberal Democrats 2016).

**Green Party**

Caroline Lucas is the MP from Brighton Pavilion for the Green Party in England. Unequivocally, Lucas and the Green Party backed remaining in the European Union. The Green Party’s slogan was: We’re fairer, safer, and greener in Europe. After Britain voted to leave the European Union, Lucas called for a second referendum due to the perceived misleading campaigns and slim majority win.
Scottish National Party

The Scottish National Party were the third largest party in Parliament and had 2 MEPs at the time of the EU referendum. The SNP were ardent supporters of Remaining in the European Union. Nicola Sturgeon, leader of the SNP, wrote of the referendum on the SNP official website:

I want to see a majority Remain vote in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as well. But given the potential strength of the pro-Europe sentiment in Scotland, I want to maximise the ‘in’ vote here in Scotland.

I support an independent Scotland, but I also support Scotland being in the EU - whether as an independent country or as part of the UK. However, this referendum is not about independence – it is about our continued place in Europe, with all the many benefits that brings (Sturgeon 2016).

On the SNP’s official website, its stance on the European Union was as followed:

The SNP believes that membership of the European Union is in Scotland’s best interests. There are a huge number of benefits for Scotland from EU membership including that the EU is the main destination for Scotland’s international exports and as citizens of the EU we are able to travel freely throughout Europe – for work, study or travel – without the need for visas. The SNP doesn’t believe the EU is perfect and agree that it needs reform, however we want Scotland to have a louder voice in Europe, an increased contribution to EU policy making and an opportunity to be part of discussions about reform, rather than becoming even more distant by removing ourselves altogether.

We hope and believe that people in Scotland and across the UK will vote decisively to stay part of the EU. But we take nothing for granted. So we will campaign passionately and positively for an “in” vote, to remain in the EU (SNP 2016).

In May 2016, Sturgeon prioritised Scotland remaining in the EU as a top priority.

Based on opinion polls coming before the EU referendum, Scotland had the highest
reports of positive feelings for the EU (BBC Scotland 2016). Sturgeon warned of a rekindling of nationalist tendencies against the United Kingdom if Scotland’s voice on the EU referendum was not heard. In 2014, Scotland voted with its own referendum on independence from the United Kingdom, with 55% voting to stay in the UK.

**Plaid Cymru**

Plaid Cymru is a nationalist party in Wales led by Leanne Wood. Plaid Cymru had 3 MPs and 1 MEP at the time of the EU referendum. In a joint statement alongside SNP leader Nicola Strugeon and Green Party MP Caroline Lucas, the cross-national trio supported the UK’s continued membership of the European Union (Johnston, J., 2016). Plaid Cymru wrote on its official website that it supported Wales staying in the EU’s Common Market. In March 2016, Carwyn Jones, Labour First Minister of Wales, warned of a possible rise in support of Welsh independence from the United Kingdom (Campbell, P 2016).
Section 3.2 Country Profiles

Wales

For the other countries in the United Kingdom, their respective relationship with the European Union consists of different factors and cultural significance. England may receive the predominance of the attention politically and economically, but the additional countries in the United Kingdom have their own relationship with the European Union and see their futures as differently and separately.

The Government of Wales Act 2006 established that the UK’s EU obligations are also Welsh obligations. In accordance with EU mandate, Wales implements EU directives, complies with EU law, and has subsidiary monitoring of issues with Westminster Parliament (Dickson Ch.8, 110). Wales implements regulations, directives, and decisions based on EU legislations. Estimates on how much Welsh legislation has European influence varies. According Dickson, given the extent of Wales’s powers over key EU areas such as agriculture, the UK figure for EU influence over secondary legislation, 14%, is likely to be a good estimate for Welsh legislation with EU origins (Dickson 111). Wales has several invested interests in European funding programs, such as structural funds, funding from the CAP (£400 million per annum) (Dickson 111).

Wales has MEPs, various political influences in Europe and European affairs in England, and there is a European Commission Office in Cardiff since 1975. According to Dickson, there is a question as to how much Wales’s civil society can benefit from being in Europe, posing that Cardiff does not benefit from the same international environment and supporting institutions as Edinburgh in Scotland or London in England (112).
Scrutiny of the European Union is different than that of in Scotland and England. According to Dixon, the importance of other roles, such as encouraging participation in debates and the policy making process itself is easily identified, rather than a scrutiny process (112). Welsh authorities, though, seem to recognise the importance of Europe, especially in areas with profound impact on Wales such as the Common Agricultural Policy (Dickson, 119).

In regard to Brexit, First Minister Carwyn Jones of Wales established an expert advisory group, the European Advisory Group, in order to ensure Wales’s future and a positive relationship with the EU and UK. Jones also chaired a Cabinet Sub-Committee on European Transition which works intergovernmentally with the other Devolved Administrations and England (Welsh Government, 2016). First Minister Jones also indicated his concern over the possible constitutional implications of Brexit, telling the Financial Times in March 2016, “The UK cannot possibly continue in its present form if England votes to leave and everyone else votes to stay” (Campbell 2016).
Scotland

Since the announcement of a possible EU referendum on membership, Scotland has been playing on two courts: defensively and offensively. Defensively, Sturgeon, alongside SNP and other parties, made a priority to defend Scottish interests in staying in the EU. For example, Sturgeon left no question about her policies with the EU referendum, indicating that Scotland’s membership of the European Union was, essentially, non-negotiable and threatened conjuring up another rally for Scottish independence if Scotland’s wishes were not heeded. Offensively, Sturgeon promised no chance of Scottish MPs taking action to trigger Article 50, thereby activating the provision for Brexit. The calculations surrounding Brexit were multifaceted. In 2013, the Scottish Government published a report entitled Scotland in the European Union. Within the first sentence of the Executive Summary, Sturgeon’s government’s paper declared its intention entirely: “Independence will allow Scotland to take its place as a full Member State within the European Union” (Scottish Government 2013, iv. Executive Summary). Moreover, Scotland’s invested interest in continued membership of the EU was reaffirmed by the reassurance of a belief that the “EU provides the best international economic framework within which to optimise the economic and social gains from independence and to tackle global challenges” (Scottish Government 2013, iv. Executive Summary). Ambitiously envisioning independence outside the UK and full membership of the EU, Sturgeon was willing to take Scotland’s political and economic future into a flux marked with different outcomes, not all of which met perfectly with the goals established by the SNP.

In “Brexit: The View from Scotland,” John MacKenzie wrote that Brexit is highly likely to increase tensions between Scotland and England (2016, 579). Moreover, MacKenzie noted that Scottish identity has been more closely related to
being European than that of English identity (578). In 2015, however, Scottish Social Attitudes survey data had Scotland’s Euroscepticism at 60%, just 5% lower than that of England. The graph below was made with “What Scotland Thinks” data on national identity choice, where following a review of data from 2000 – 2014 established a slight decrease in reports of Scottish overall and a very low report of European stagnated over the years.

**Chart 5: National Identity in Scotland**

I took data from the ‘Forced Choice’ national identity data set and placed it into a line graph to demonstrate the trend from 2000 – 2014. The question for this survey was, “National identity that best describes the way respondent thinks of themselves? (Asked if they choose more than one from the list)” and each sample size was over 1,000 respondents.
Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland’s clinging relationship with the EU is one which stems from a fear of revived violence and conflict. As a nation riddled with a history of conflict with its “neighbour” Ireland, Northern Ireland is well aware of the implications that Brexit would bring for establishing a hard border between itself and Ireland. Northern Ireland also benefits greatly from the EU, receiving £2.5 billion in funding.

Paradoxically, the leading political party in Northern Ireland (Democratic Unionist Party) campaigned for Northern Ireland (and ultimately the UK) to leave the European Union. Previously mentioned Northern Ireland secretary Theresa Villiers was adamant about the Leave campaign’s success, the EU referendum rules, and making suggestions about Northern Ireland’s future outside the EU.

However, the implications are sour for Northern Ireland. Kathryn Gaw wrote in *The Guardian* on her view which stated that the installation of hard borders would undermine stabilised peace between the two countries, especially in border towns of Newry, Omagh, and Derry. In *The power of geographical borders: Cultural, political, and economic order effects in a unitary nation*, Bowon Chang of Iowa University wrote that borders have significant implications beyond that of a geographical barrier; instead, they also serve as “political creatures” and play a significant role in cultural, political, and economic behaviour of states despite the “borderless world” contention (Chang 2010). In essence, it is arguable that Northern Ireland could see the tensions between itself and Ireland increase, but more likely the economic effect of securing hard borders (those with border controls, tight policing, and possible militarisation) will have larger implications.
Arguably the most impactful political upset in modern British history, a political party which started with a meagre group of 20-something and operated out of a Caffe Nero for months managed to usher in the ultimate Eurosceptic dream: a decisive victory to leave the EU in a referendum vote. The United Kingdom Independence Party, known as UKIP, is that such party. Drawing upon populism, right-wing exacerbation with “political elites” in both Parliament and the European Union, and British unionism, UKIP are an interesting yet categorically indescribable. Starting in 1991, Alan Sked founded the Anti-Federalist League which would eventually turn into UKIP in 1993. For many years, UKIP remained in the shadows until 2009 when Nigel Farage entered the fray of political capitalisation on recent backlash regarding the Lisbon Treaty and the seeming influx of immigrants after EU enlargement of former Communist Eastern European bloc countries. Farage, a figure which now serves as a divisive reminder of Brexit woes and conjures up feelings of xenophobia and racism for many, worked diligently to distance himself from political elite and those “posh boys” he despised. In his book *The Purple Revolution: The Year that Changed Everything*, there is a tendency for Farage to “tell it like it is” and hold back little of his ill-mannered criticisms, no matter how against status quo they may seem. Most of the inside analysis of Farage will be gleaned from my interpretation of recently published *The Brexit Club* on the Leave campaign authored by Owen Bennett in 2016. Additionally, drawing upon literature on UKIP, right wing extremism in modern Britain, the Eurosceptic tendencies of the Conservative Party, and populism and anti-globalism will help further explain and substantiate the rise of UKIP and its effect on the overall outcome of the EU referendum vote.

In *The Brexit Club*, Bennett characterised Farage as a “political gambler” and an “anti-establishment” man who has great disdain for the “posh elite,” especially
within the Conservative Party. Bennett is not the only author to do so. Farage himself, especially in his own political works and speeches, sets himself apart as a figure of anti-establishment and as a “man of the ordinary people.” A quick glance at the dictionary defines “ordinary” as “with no special or distinctive features; normal.” However, Farage has the most distinctive features of all: a self-declared maverick and anti-establishment politician who served as a Member of European Parliament in the very institution he claimed to despise since 1999, winning re-elections in 2004, 2009, and 2014. In 2016, Politico named Nigel Farage as the fifth most influential MEP out of a list of forty, naming him as one of the two most influential and effective speakers in the EP chamber (Politico EU 2016). Farage is far from ordinary.

The wave that Farage rode to victory in the Brexit referendum is also far from ordinary. The populist, anti-establishment, and anti-globalist wave across Europe has been fuelled incessantly by tensions with the very fundamental framework of the EU: freedom of movement of people. Anti-immigration has become, by far, one of the most influential policy points of right-wing extremist movements across Europe and in the United Kingdom. The “left behind” of globalisation also exhibit great backlash against those who have benefited from globalisation. The term “left behind” and the “have-nots” has been used in recent literature on Brexit and the rise of right-wing extremism and populist movements in Europe and the United States. In a working paper on “Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash,” authors Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris proposed several interesting theories on the matter. The economic inequality perspective, which “emphasises the consequences for electoral behaviour arising from profound changes transforming the workforce and society in post-industrial economies” is very much so applicable to Brexit Britain. Supporters of Brexit and UKIP, as Inglehart and Norris
would perhaps categorise as the “less secure strata of society”\(^9\)) have reportedly been more sceptical of immigration. However, the theory of “cultural backlash,” which Inglehart and Norris have surmised as building upon a silent revolution theory of value change, with cultural shifts experiencing a negative backlash, may prove more pertinent to explain the appeal of UKIP and its populist, anti-establishment rhetoric.

In “Understanding UKIP: Identity, Social Change and the Left Behind,” authors Robert Ford and Matthew Goodwin wrote that UKIP’s emergence was based on changes to Britain’s economic and social structure which pushed the “left behind” to the side. Relatedly, the generational changes in the values of Britain have left the older, more traditional and older voters behind in the sense that those “traditional views” are seen as “parochial” by the young, university-educated strata. As a result of these shifts in social change, alongside an increasingly multicultural and liberalised Britain, the “left behind” were drawn to a political party which promised to represent them and their views. In Ford and Goodwin’s book *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain*, the three motives of UKIP support were seen as the following:

1. A ‘hard’ brand of Euroscepticism that opposes the principle of Britain’s EU membership;
2. Strong opposition to immigration and concern about its effects on the British economy and society;

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\(^9\) “Less secure strata of society – low-waged unskilled workers, the long-term unemployed, households dependent on shrinking social benefits, residents of public housing, single-parent families, and poorer white populations living in inner city areas with concentrations of immigrants susceptible to the anti-establishment, nativist, and xenophobic scare-mongering of populist movements (2016, 2).
3. Dissatisfaction with established politics in Westminster and how the
established political parties have managed immigration and the [Eurozone]

Drawing back on the first two questions posed in Chapter I, (1. To what extent
has Euroscepticism transcended its philosophical roots and transformed into a vehicle
of policy change vis-à-vis withdrawal from the European Union? and 2. Is Brexit
better explained as a result of a different phenomenon, such as populism or anti-
globalism, rather than Euroscepticism? Conversely, is populism or anti-globalism
Euroscepticism in its ultimate application?), I pose that UKIP and the cultural
backlash theory best explain the mobilisation of UKIP’s politics, which served as a
vehicle for hard Eurosceptic policy change vis-à-vis withdrawal from the European
Union.

While these sentiments have existed in the UK before the existence of UKIP,
UKIP brought the movement to the forefront and capitalised on the movement to
create effectual policy change. Moreover, UKIP capitalised on the shift in political
change with those “left behind” by mainstream parties, most notably the Conservative
Party. According to Ford and Goodwin, Britons with no formal qualifications have
been twice as likely to strongly say they feel as if they have no say in government
than middle-class Britons and graduates (2014, 281). The politically “left behind”
electorate were disenchanted from the political process, the mainstream political
parties, and “traditional” society. Ford and Goodwin seem to agree that UKIP
mobilised the left-behind, especially the blue-collar, white, and male voters who fell
into the “less secure strata” as explained by Inglehart and Norris.

Another facet of the success of UKIP once again relies on the argument of the
Richard Hayton noted that one of the overlooked facets of UKIP includes the politics of national identity. While I contend that UKIP is indeed simultaneously a unionist and nationalist party, Hayton argued that Englishness is the pivot around which key elements of the party’s appeal revolved; moreover, the “Anglo-Britishness” aspect of UKIP does not challenge the United Kingdom as a set of devolved nations, but rather celebrates English identity more so, and exacerbates the divide between Scottish and English identities (2016).

UKIP are undeniably nationalist. Moreover, UKIP seemingly favour “Englishness” as a defining factor of “Britishness.” For example, interpretation of an excerpt from UKIP material declaring Britain facing an existential crisis with the rise of Scottish, Irish, and Welsh nationalism seems to indicate an uncompromising view of Britishness as rejecting the notions of the Scottish, Irish, and Welsh nationalism as anti-British and therefore anti-English. Farage noted that the Scottish referendum was not merely about independence, but rather a fight of anti-Englishness, fascist, and racist (Hayton 2016, 404). According to Hayton, Anglo-Britishness is strongly felt by some voters in Scotland, as indicated by UKIP’s electoral success in gaining a Scottish seat in the European Parliament in 2014 (2016, 407).

In campaigning, UKIP was affiliated with two organisations: Leave.EU and Vote Leave. Farage endorsed Leave.EU and was a member of Vote Leave. Leave.EU was started by Arron Banks, a UKIP donor and business man out of Bristol, England. Vote Leave was established as the official campaign in favour of leaving the European Union by the Electoral Commission and was founded by political analysts Matthew Elliot and Dominic Cummings. Vote Leave was a multi-party coalition which held a committee with big names such as Michael Gove (Conservative MP for Surrey Heath), Douglas Carswell (UKIP MP for Clacton), Iain Duncan Smith (MP for
Chingford and Woodford Green, Boris Johnson (Former Mayor of London and MP for Uxbridge and South Ruislip), Daniel Hannan (MEP for South East England), and Andrea Leadsom (MP for South Northamptonshire). Vote Leave focused more on the economic and domestic rule aspects of leaving the European Union, whereas Leave.EU handled the social aspects of the EU, such as immigration.

In further analysis of the EU referendum vote, a discussion of immigration as a facet of the campaign will be explored in detail. Additionally, an exploration of further analysis regarding the cultural backlash and economic inequality theories in explaining the vote outcome will be given. Lastly, a discussion of voter theory will build upon the notions of populism and anti-globalism.
Chapter IV: The Arguments For and Against Brexit

The main areas of concern for the Brexit debate include Democracy/Sovereignty, Foreign Affairs, and Trade and Investment. Within each of those areas are subsidiary issues involving particular European policies. The following section will address these issues in regards to the pro-EU and anti-EU stances, and will provide relevant context for these issues in the current British political climate.

Section 4.1: Sovereignty, Democracy, and Security

As more nations joined the European Union, Britain’s voice in the European Parliament has decreased from 18.2% of MEPs to 9.7% (Charter 2014, 3). The In-Britain voters counteract this point by indicating that each EU member state is appointed one European Commissioner and judge at the European Court of Justice. Additionally, the UK has seventy-three out of the 751 elected Members of European Parliament (MEPs). Yet, it is undeniable that as the EU has nearly tripled in size, Britain’s influence has given way to the input of other nations. According to Bojan Pancevski’s article in Sunday Times, Britain has 12.7% of the EU population, but the proportion of UK staff in the European Commission (the body that proposes law) was down to 4.5% in 2013 (2013, 43). In addition, the perceived ‘democratic deficit’ adds to Britain’s uneasy history toward the supranational characteristics of the EU.10

Keeping in line with Britain’s preference for intergovernmentalism, the EU’s democratic deficit poses serious problems regarding the “representative,” “accountability,” and “engagement” qualities of the European Union (Terry nd., 10 –

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10 According to EUR-LEX European Law, “‘Democratic deficit’ is a term used by people who argue that the EU institutions and their decision-making procedures suffer from a lack of democracy and seem inaccessible to the ordinary citizen due to their complexity.”
Moreover, as proposed by Christophe Crombez in his article “The Democratic Deficit in the EU: Much Ado about Nothing,” the deficit begs the question of how effective, representative, and equal the policy making process is within the European channels (2003, 101 – 120). With this deficit considered, the anti-EU faction then further press the issue of how much EU legislation is imposed upon UK sovereign, domestic rule. According to a comprehensive analysis of legislation by the House of Commons library published in 2010, it is difficult to arrive at a consensus on how to effectively measure the laws and influences. Yet, according to the HoC report and Amy Sippit of FullFact.org, the analysis estimated the following results:

- Acts put in place by UK Parliament with EU influence: accounts for 10-14%;
- Regulations influenced by or related to the EU: accounts for 9-14%;
- EU regulations and regulations influenced by or related to the EU: accounts for 53% (House of Commons 2010; Sippit 2014)

The current British political climate is very wary of the EU’s imposition on the UK’s sovereignty and democracy. In the Conservative Party’s Manifesto in 2010, David Cameron promised the British electorate would vote on transfer of powers to the European Union. Furthermore, Cameron promised an amendment to the 1972 European Communities Act, “so that any proposed future treaty that transferred areas of power, or competences, would be subject to a referendum – a ‘referendum lock’” (Conservative Manifesto 2010, 113 – 114).

In some regard, the EU’s regulations dominate domestic rule. In light of rising threats to national security from international terrorist organisations such as the Islamic State and the migrant crisis from Syria and surrounding territories, the call for
Britain to take complete control of its borders has been solidified into proposed legislation. The EU has a guaranteed ‘freedom of movement’ for its citizens, and for many anti-EU proponents, this element of British society undermines border control and internal security. For example, the Brexit advocates took notice of the recent Brussels terror attacks on 22 March 2016. Notable political figures such as UKIP head Nigel Farage, Conservative MP Dominic Raab, and Conservative MP Graham Brady each noted that attacks like these were reason enough to need to secure Britain’s borders (Fidler 2016). However, the pro-EU side would point out that Britain is not part of the passport-free, borderless Schengen zone and retains the right to border controls.

Additionally, up until publication of this paper in November 2016, Britain has refused to take part in any EU-mandated refugee resettlement plan (Debating Europe, 2016). The Conservative Government released a leaflet in April 2016 that outlined their policies on remaining in the EU. Similarly, the Government posted online an outline of security reasons why the UK should remain a member. Other than border control and immigration, the Government named counterterrorism and criminal justice as per the European Arrest Warrant, as being a driving force for a secure Britain by claiming 1,000 suspects facing justice in UK courts and 7,000 extradited from the UK to face trial or serve a sentence (EU Referendum 2016).

11 The United Kingdom Borders (Control and Sovereignty) Bill proposed by Tory MP Andrew Rosindell looks to “Make provision for the re-establishment of the control and sovereignty of policy, administration and all other matters relating to the United Kingdom’s borders with the European Union and to the entry and exit to the United Kingdom of foreign nationals; and for connected purposes.”

(http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/bills/cbill/2015-2016/0068/16068.pdf)
Foreign Affairs

It is undeniable that the European Union is one of the most powerful and relevant international political entities in the modern political arena. Backers of British membership in the European Union argue that Britain uses EU influence to make their country more competitive because foreign policy goals are enhanced through the collective strength of the entire Union (Charter 2014, 18). For example, “soft power” types of actions, such as foreign aid and investment, sanctions, and response to crises and natural disasters are some of the influential decisions that Britain undertakes alongside other EU member states (Charter 2014, 18). The Brexit camp, however, would argue that Britain could instead strengthen global connections through historical links with Commonwealth countries and the United States. Additionally, in order to keep connection with the European nations, Brexit supporters suggest that Britain keep a close military connection with France and remain a key member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), G8, the G20, and take its own seat in the World Trade Organisation (Charter 2014, 18).

According to the European Council on Foreign Relations, which has 24 members from the United Kingdom, there will be eight major foreign affairs consequences if Brexit occurs. Firstly, the ECFR notes that Scotland will once again aim for independence from the UK, as “Scots are determined to stay in the EU” (Witney 2015). They further pose that there would be significant damages to the UK’s relationship with the EU, noting that there will be no “amicable divorce” or special trade deal between the two. The ECFR also contradicts pro-Brexit camp’s argument for the strength of the Commonwealth alliance. They argue that the Commonwealth countries have “moved on,” and the ‘Special Relationship’ between the UK and the United States will dissolve. Furthermore, ECFR writes off the Syrian “refugee crisis”
by stating that there will be no protection from the crisis as per the control of borders, and the issue of sovereignty is a non-issue unless Britain wants a world run by China or Russia (Witney 2015).

Various foreign heads of state have weighed in on the Brexit debates. President Barack Obama, in his late April 2016 trip to the UK, urged voters to not back an exit from the European Union. Furthermore, the United States Trade Representative Ambassador Michael Froman indicated that the United States is “not keen” on establishing a free trade agreement with Britain if they leave the European Union (Hughes & Blenkinsop 2015). In 2015, China’s Xi Jinping urged Britain to stay in the EU to prevent the US from dominating the trading markets (RT 2015).

German Chancellor Angela Merkel was quoted on Brexit in February 2016 preceding a special negotiations meeting with David Cameron as saying, “[Germany] [is] convinced that from the German perspective, Great Britain remaining in the European Union is desirable…. [we pledge] to do everything with David Cameron to find a compromise” (Wagstyl 2016).

A recent poll in April 2016 showed that 59% of French respondents wanted Britain to remain in the EU; however, it can be argued that France is the most indifferent country on the Brexit debate (Ball 2016). Former French Prime Minister Michel Rocard wrote in Le Monde for the UK to leave the EU “before [the UK] destroys everything,” echoing the French sentiment that the EU has become “too English” (Ball 2016). According to some accounts, perhaps one of the most willing supporters of Brexit, other than Britain, is Russia. The Russian government has made no official statements on Brexit, but in the eyes of Moscow, the UK and the EU lose out in security and geopolitical terms from the alliance drifting apart (Gromyko 2016).
It is apparent that Brexit has caused a rift in the international community. For Britain, it becomes imperative to understand the consequences and implications of possible exit from the EU on alliance relationships and foreign policy. This relates substantially to dealings with Trade and Investment, which is discussed in the following section.

**Trade and Investment**

Currently, the UK is the EU’s top recipient of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). The annual investment figures from UK Trade & Investment (UKTI) for the 2014-15 financial year showed the UK attracted 1,988 FDI projects, which was 12% more than 2013/14 (UKTI 2015). Additionally, there were almost 85,000 new jobs and 23,000 safeguarded jobs added across the UK (UKTI 2015). Even in years previous, the UK proved to be attracting trade and investment. In 2012, the UK won one in five FDI projects and received the highest amount of FDI from the United States and Japan (Charter 2014, 46). Moreover, in 2012, Britain attracted $62 billion in foreign investment, which was the highest in Europe and sixth in the world (Charter 2014, 46). In 2014-15, the UKTI confirmed the UK’s FDI stock reached £1 trillion (UKTI 2015).

These figures are impressive. Trade and investment drive economies and political influence within the European Union and the grander scope of international relations. However, one of the important aspects of Brexit regarding Trade and Investment is that of the economics of the European Union. As evident through Britain’s history regarding the refusal to join the Euro single currency (and thereby the Eurozone), Britain seemingly dodged suffering first-hand the effects of the “Euro crisis.” In his article “An Island Apart?” Thomas Raines wrote on the effects of British Euroscepticism on the Euro stating, “While the euro crisis seems likely to push
the countries using the [Euro]…. into a fiscal union, it appears to be exerting a centrifugal force on Britain.” Moreover, the actual expenditure and government net contribution to the EU, in conjunction with the negative effects of the Euro crisis, has played a significant role in the pro-Brexit argument. Currently, the UK pays more into the EU than it gets back. According to the UK Government Report *European Union Finances 2015*, the UK paid £13 billion to the EU budget, and EU spending on the UK was £4.5 billion. Therefore, the net contribution is at approximately £8.5 billion. This figure is also in light of the rebate of almost £5 billion.

Pro-Brexit backers indicate that the expenditure on the EU adds insult to injury. Moreover, the opportunities for Britain’s FDI investments post-Brexit would come from its “flexible and well-educated labour force, quality of life and language advantages, good technology and transport infrastructure, stable and proven domestic legal and political framework, and comparatively low company taxes” (Charter 2014, 46). The anti-Brexit, pro-EU group counter and instead point to the apparent market success of Britain’s investment history, as well as indicating that Britain acts as a “gateway for investors to the Single Market of 504 million people” (Charter 2014, 46). Furthermore, Brexit would undermine the economic stability that investors value. If the UK leaves the EU, they will renegotiate the status of their membership in the single market, and a large proportion of these investments could be lost. Additionally, this brings rise to the issue of multinational corporations, EU migrant workers, tax law, and financial protections for the City of London.

Many of these aspects of Brexit are impossible to accurately foresee, and they exist only in hypothetical realm of a ‘if-when’ scenario. Considering the implicit nature of the debate, there follows an interesting analysis of what happens after a (possible) successful vote for the British exit from the European Union.
Navigating the World Post-Brexit (Pros and Cons)

If the Eurosceptics win and Brexit occurs, Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty will be enacted. Under Article 50, the UK will exit the EU two years after the declaration to the European Council of the nation state’s intention to leave the EU. The leave is not simply cut-and-dry. The EU is required to negotiate and agree by qualified majority and consent of the European Parliament with the member state for the arrangements of the exit and future proposed relationship. The following projections are based from my analysis of hypotheticals and estimations of possible outcomes of Brexit.

Trade

The most important negotiation between the UK and the EU encompasses the future of trade. If no agreement happens, the UK would be subject to the trade barriers of non-EU nations. Therefore, it is imperative that the UK secures an agreement on access to the European markets through a trade pact similar or equal to a European Free Trade Association (EFTA). Moreover, the UK needs to ensure that bilateral trade between itself and the EU is not subjected to tariffs, which could be accomplished by joining the EFTA or European Union Customs Union. However, if the UK achieves this, it needs to detach itself from the Single Market full membership. This is due to the fact that Single Market membership entails all of the controversial EU requirements from which Britain seeks to disentangle, such as freedom of movement of people. The UK could instead seek to gain a special status within the EU that emulates that of Turkey, but with more involvement in the EFTA. Turkey’s current status does not include freedom of movement of goods, services, people, or capital, and Turkey does not contribute to the EU budget. However, some portions of EU law are applied to Turkey, and Turkey cannot negotiate their own external trade.
agreements without the say of the EU. Therefore, the UK should implement some of the aspects of Switzerland’s status, which is a member of the EFTA but comes without some of the regulations of EU law and the European Economic Area.

In addition to securing a negotiated trade relationship with the European Union, the United Kingdom should seek to further their trade agendas with the rest of the world, especially the United States. Post-Brexit, the UK will still be a part of the World Trade Organization (WTO), and therefore, it is assumed that the pre-existing Free Trade Agreements set up within the WTO parameters will still stand. Importantly, the United States should seek a FTA with the United Kingdom. The US should abandon its hardened look toward Brexit and allow for the UK to seek trade agreements outside the EU. If the US could set up a FTA with the UK, the strengthened political connection will signal stability and potential in the UK (which is the sixth largest global economy), and could lead to additional FTA with the UK from various nations. While it is possible that the UK could join up with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the US should instead look into a joint FTA between itself and the UK before pursing this option. Other than the United States, the top countries with which the UK should promote trade agreements are China, Russia, Australia, Brazil, India, and South Korea. Outside of the EU, the UK will have the ability to negotiate their own trade agreements and will enjoy the advantages of being unconstrained by the EU’s regulations.

**Foreign Relations**

Leaving the European Union will not completely damper Britain’s political influence as critically as some suggest. While Britain is a leading member of the European Union, it is also a part of the G8, G20, NATO, the OECD, the WTO, the United Nations, the United Nations Security Council, the Commonwealth, and has
strong alliances with countries outside of the European Union. If the UK leaves the EU, it will still be a part of all of these political entities. The UK will still consulted in the United Nations and it will contribute to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. All of the aspects of Britain’s political repertoire are not contingent upon membership of the European Union. Therefore, if Britain does leave the EU, they will not leave their perceived importance at Brussel’s doorstep when they go.

Yet, the United Kingdom needs to stress that they are not retreating into political isolationism. It is possible that alliances between the UK and EU nations will be put under some strain following a successful Brexit; to put it simply, Brexit could make alliances “politically awkward” initially. However, if this is the case, the UK should spend time cultivating alliances outside of the EU, which is something that the Foreign Office should consider especially in South East Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Additionally, the ‘Special Relationship’ with the United States could use some fine-tuning, alongside the relationships with Commonwealth countries such as Australia and Canada. That is not to say that the UK should turn its back on European allies. Instead, it can be proposed that the UK looks to strong allies such as France and Germany within their mutual political groups, such as the United Nations, and work to continue cultivating those relationships outside of the EU membership context.

**Migration: Britons Abroad, EU Nationals, and Special Circumstances**

If Brexit occurred, the internal changes within the United Kingdom would not be immediate, as the full exit from the European Union will not be immediately implemented. However, there are some aspects of the British political and economic culture that will be eroded, some of which will be difficult to remove from the mindset of the ‘British European.’ For example, if Brexit occurs, the freedom of movement of peoples will be ended. British citizens would no longer be granted the
same visa-free, universal passport access to EU nation states. This affects foreign relations with the rest of the European Union nation states, as migrants have moved into the UK. According to the Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford, inflows of EU nationals migrating to the UK in 2014 was at 268,000, and EU citizens accounted for an estimated 48% of total non-British inflows in 2014. Moreover, at the first quarter of 2015, approximately 1.9 million EU citizens were employed in the United Kingdom. Two in three EU nationals were migrating to the UK for work; the second most common reason for migrating was for formal study. According to the United Nations, there are approximately 4.5 million Britons living.

Chart 6: EU Migration by Nationality
abroad and 1.3 million are in Europe. In Chart 6, provided by information from *The Telegraph*, indicates that there are nearly 319,000 British expats in Spain alone (Bennet 2016). What will happen to these citizens if Britain leaves the EU and thereby voids their participation in the ‘freedom of movement’ aspect of the EU? Within the UK’s negotiations with the EU, the protection of British expats needs to be a clear and indicated priority. These Britons will not be deported back to the UK from the European Union. Instead, these citizens could gain ‘acquired rights’ under international law after the termination of a treaty. This is evident through the *Vienna Convention of 1969*, which says the termination of a treaty "does not affect any right, obligation or legal situation of the parties created through the execution of the treaty prior to its termination." So, those who left Britain before Brexit should be protected under this Convention and retain the right to live within the EU. However, to an extent, the EU would have the right to negotiate the parameters of those rights. For example, expats would need access to health care, need to pay taxes, need to retain their property, and solve the plethora of issues that will surround passports and visas. The EU nationals within Britain would more than likely be given an indefinite leave to remain, but it depends on the negotiations post-Brexit.

One last special circumstance to consider in the current political climate is the Syrian refugee crisis. As a result of the Syrian civil war, 4.6 million Syrians are refugees, 6.6 million are displaced within Syria, and the numbers are growing as the displaced are coming to Europe (10% have come to Europe to date). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees called for the global community to provide safe and legal routes for the Syrian refugees. The UK’s initial policy was to give “generous… humanitarian aid to Syria’s neighbours, rather than to accept recognised Syrian refugees for resettlement in the UK” (Parliament, 2016). However, the UK
Government started a scheme to take in 20,000 refugees at the estimated cost of over ‘half a billion pounds’ (BBC, 2016). This current crisis has mobilised the anti-EU crowd, indicating the disdain toward the EU regulations for taking in refugees. The elements behind this issue are numerous, yet are irrelevant to the topic of Brexit. The more important factor is the understanding of the UK’s current involvement in the EU mandates and future cooperation.
Chapter V: The EU Referendum Results

Before the analysis of the results, the following will include charts depicting results regionally and overall. In the proceeding discussion, the results will be analysed regionally in sections and lastly overall. The charts were made manually with data available from the UK Electoral Commission after the vote was official and finalised. The spreadsheets from which the charts originated are available in the Appendix, and consist of data compiled from Electoral Commission and UK Home Office statistics. In some cases, the regions were split into two charts for clarity; in this instance, the chart’s title indicates (1/2) or (2/2). Each chart indicates the overall percentage of leave and remain on the x axis, alongside the constituency name on the y axis.
EAST MIDLANDS EU REFERENDUM RESULTS
(1/2)

Pct_Leave vs Pct_Remain for various areas in the East Midlands.
**East Midlands EU Referendum Results (2/2)**

Overall East Midlands: 2,508,515 votes, 58.8% Leave and 41.2% Remain
East EU Referendum Vote Results Chart (1/2)
Overall East: 3,328,983 votes. Leave: 56.5% and Remain: 43.5%
Overall London: 3,776,751  Leave: 40.1%  Remain: 59.9%
### Overall Northeast EU Referendum Results

- **Leave**: 58%
- **Remain**: 42%

**Overall Northeast**: 1,340,698

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*County Durham*
Overall Northern Ireland: 790,149  Leave: 44.22%  Remain: 55.78%
Overall Northwest: 3,665,983  Leave: 53.7%  Remain: 46.3%
Scotland EU Vote Results

Lea

Overall Scotland: 2,679,513  Leave: 38%  Remain: 62%
Southeast EU Referendum Results

Overall Southeast: 4,959,683 Leave: 51.8% Remain: 48.2%
Overall Southwest: 3,172,730  Leave: 52.6%  Remain: 47.4%
Wales EU Referendum Results

Overall Wales: 1,629,919  Leave: 52.5%  Remain: 47.5%
West Midlands EU Referendum Vote Results

Overall West Midlands: 2,962,862  Leave: 59.3%  Remain: 40.7%
Yorkshire EU Referendum Results

Overall Yorkshire and the Humber: 2,739,235  Leave: 57.7%  Remain: 42.3%
The overall result

Leave polled the most strongly in 270 counting areas, with Remain coming first in 129.

Key: Majority leave  Majority remain  Tie  Undeclared

Source: BBC News Analysis of EU Referendum
How Leave won the referendum

Depth of bars is proportional to votes cast, largest areas shown first

Source: BBC News Analysis of EU Referendum
Overall Facts

On June 23, 2016, the majority of England and Wales voted to leave the European Union; Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Gibraltar voted to remain. Outside the capital city boroughs of London, almost every region had a majority voting to leave the European Union, some by merely one percentage point. Overall, 17,410,742 votes (52%) were cast to leave the European Union, and 16,141,241 votes (48%) were cast to remain in the European Union (UK Electoral Commission 2016).

Impressively, the Remain campaign took a majority of London (59.9%) and Scotland (62%). The turn-out was 72% with over 30 million votes overall. Turn-out was lower, however, in areas with a younger population.

Table 6: Turnout by Age
Areas with higher percentages of residents with higher education and formal qualifications saw a positive relationship between level of education and qualifications and voting remain, as depicted on the charts on page 109.

**Chart 7:** Percentage of residents with no formal qualifications alongside distribution of remain and leave vote percentage

**Chart 8:** Percentage of residents with higher education alongside distribution of remain and leave vote percentage
Section 4.2: Analysis

Voting to Leave: The 70% Club

In this referendum, the slim majority of the voting population voted to leave the European Union. In areas such as Boston, South Holland, Castle Point, Thurrock, and Great Yarmouth, Fenland, Mansfield, Bolsover, and East Lindsey, the vote percentage for leave was over or equal to 70%, topping out at 75% in Boston. Such high percentage of votes cast for leaving the European raises the question: why did these areas predominately vote to leave the EU?

Boston and Skegness/South Holland

Population: 64,600 (2012 data)
County: Lincolnshire
Member of Parliament: Matt Warman (Conservative)
Electorate: 39,363
Turn-Out: 77%
Leave Percent: 75.56%

South Holland is neighbouring (73.9% to Leave)

According to 2011 – 2012 census data, of Boston’s population of roughly 65,000, 10.6% are migrants from the newest European Union member states such as Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Romania (Gallagher 2016; Pidd 2012). In 2012, the local councillor responsible for housing, population, and communities Mike Gilbert said that the biggest challenge brought about by the high levels of immigration was the perceived disadvantages of immigration (Pidd 2012). Between 2001 – 2011, Boston saw a six-fold increase in foreign-born residents (Freytas-Tamusa 2016). As a result of the growing migrant and migrant-born population, tensions between native British and EU citizens became a “microcosm for the Brexit vote’s immigration debate” (Moore 2016). Seemingly, a major factor in
the high percentage of votes for leave has to do with disapproval of immigration. As non-British citizens (EU and non-EU citizens) were not allowed to vote even if they lived in Britain, the reflection of the vote is only that of native British and those with British citizenship. Moreover, the Policy Exchange think tank named Boston as the least integrated area in Britain, adding a quantifiable measure to the idea that racial tensions exist in Boston (Boyle 2016). The high amount of immigrants has been linked to the substantial opportunity for agricultural and low-skilled work in Boston (BBC EU Referendum Lincolnshire).

![Castle Point](image)

**Castle Point**

**Population:** 86,608 (2001)

**County:** Essex

**MP:** Rebecca Harris (Conservative)

**Turn-Out:** 75.38%

**Leave Percent:** 72.7%

Castle Point has 21 Conservative local councillors, 14 Canvey Island Independent Party councillors, 5 United Kingdom Independence Party councillors, and 1 independent councillor. In 2011, the average median age of Castle Point citizens was 45 years old. In a report by the Essex County Council in 2015, between 25.86 – 28.78% of Castle Point citizens were aged 65 or older.

According to the same report, 9% of households are older singles with private pensions, aged 66 or older; 7.4% of households are elderly couples with “traditional views” aged 66 or older; and 7.3% of households are couples without children or with adult children living with them aged 55-65 (Essex County Council, 2015, 5).
Thurrock, neighbouring Castle Point, has similar concerns. Demographically, the pensioners (older population) are outnumbered 2:1 by under 25s. In port town Tilbury, many of those who voted to leave the EU were swayed by the economic arguments. Massive layoffs in the 80s left the era behind. Those who voted to leave were reportedly in industries such as the car manufacturing industry, those industries that could be effected substantially by EU trade and the allure of new trade deals (Noack 2016). Immigration does not seem to be that much a factor, but it still is reported as important with local council and supporters from UKIP in the area.
Theories

According to the top in the 70% plus range, the commonalities seem to correlate with previous discussion on Euroscepticism and the “left behind” strata. As a result, I hypothesise that the main driving factors for the top Eurosceptic and thereby top “leave” constituencies are economic and social. Within the economic factor was the appeal of new markets outside of the EU, which Vote Leave indicated as a possibility only by leaving the EU, and the backlash against foreign migrant workers. There are several social factors that I would deem important for understanding the higher vote leave percentage. Firstly, the areas have portions of the population which would most likely be Eurosceptic, such as the pensioner age, with the exception of Thurrock. As previously discussed, in Understanding UKIP: Identity, Social Change and the Left Behind, authors Robert Ford and Matthew Goodwin wrote that UKIP’s emergence was based on changes to Britain’s economic and social structure which pushed the “left behind” to the side. Relatedly, the generational changes in the values of Britain have left the older, more traditional and older voters behind in the sense that those “traditional views” are seen as “parochial” by the young, university-educated strata. As a result of these shifts in social change, alongside an increasingly multicultural and liberalised Britain, the “left behind” were drawn to a political party which promised to represent them and their views. In this case, UKIP and Vote Leave/Leave.EU mobilised the left behind in these areas to fulfil the hard Eurosceptic decision to leave the EU in order to “right the wrongs” caused by the EU and the political establishment in Westminster.

The point is then raised as to how one can explain the remaining portions of England and Wales that voted to leave the European Union, especially those which do not exhibit obvious correlations with the theories posed. There are several answers
that could be hypothesised, but I pose the simple answer of analysing the turn-out.

Overall, the turn-out for those who are more likely to vote to stay in the EU (young, college educated, middle class) was lower than that of over-65s.

Chart 10: Turnout vs. Percentage of Over 65s in voting region

Turn-out for those more likely to be Eurosceptic (aged 60+) was higher than 60% in most cases. For those aged 18-24 and eligible, 64% voted compared to the 90% of over-65s. The results found that 64% of those young people who were registered did vote, rising to 65% among 25-to-39-year-olds and 66% among those aged between 40 and 54. It increased to 74% among the 55-to-64 age group and 90% for those aged 65 and over. It is thought that more than 70% of young voters chose to remain in the EU (Helm 2016).

In analysing motivations for vote choice, I subscribe to the social group theory for explaining many of the questions regarding Brexit’s turnout. Barring any consideration of the somewhat untruthful campaigns and any misconceptions or
misunderstandings of the vote choice, social group theory can explain the way individuals choose to vote as per the social characteristics and properties of the group in which they belong or identify. Essentially, the argument is that a person votes politically as they are socially. Additionally, I pose that economic and cultural backlash theories follow in the same regard with overlapping imposition of social variables confounding the results. Without oversimplifying the explanation, it seems as if the data points to a correlation between how the region is categorically “left behind” in the globalised world and how willing they would be to reject the notions of the European Union and accept the fervour of an anti-establishment populism movement as one which encapsulates the needs of the “ordinary” and “British” people who have been “left behind.”

Moreover, the issue of immigration, while a driving factor in the votes of many, was reportedly second to issues over national sovereignty and the principle that decisions about the UK should be made in and by the UK Parliament alone. In Lord Ashcroft’s poll of 12,369 voters after the referendum, one third of Leave voters indicated that the most important factor driving their vote was national sovereignty, followed secondly by immigration and border control, and thirdly by concerns over EU’s expansion of powers. According to YouGov data on EU membership and immigration in 2016, a higher percentage of respondents indicated that they believed there would be less immigration if Britain left the EU, as depicted in the chart on the following page.
I would pose that the relationship between the “national sovereignty” and “immigration and border control” variables is interlinked. Essentially, while the UK is not part of the borderless Europe and the Schengen Agreement, the fact remains that most of the immigration requirements to which the UK is obligated to adhere come from the European Union with no leeway for reversal. Therefore, I would hypothesize that the relationship between being concerned with national sovereignty and being able to legislate the control of borders is interlinked in many cases.
Section 4.2: Aftermath

The aftermath of the EU referendum was an indication of how confused the world seemed to be about post-Brexit Britain’s future. The British Pound Sterling fell during the referendum result, plummeting 15% on July 6. The FTSE 100 index bounced back to pre-referendum levels within a couple days, but the stability of both economic factors remains uncertain (Kottasova 2016). Prime Minister David Cameron resigned from his position as Prime Minister the following morning after the Referendum results were officialised, eventually he would resign from his position as a Member of Parliament a few months later. Following tense leadership contents in both the Labour and Conservative Parties, Jeremy Corbyn retained his leadership position and Theresa May, former Home Secretary, became Prime Minister.

Within the same few weeks, Nigel Farage stepped down as leader of UKIP. Michael Grove and Boris Johnson went AWOL until Johnson returned with a position in May’s cabinet as Foreign Secretary. Politicians such as Caroline Lucas of the Green Party called for a second referendum, indicating that the referendum results were too close and the campaigns were not fair. Millions marched throughout the UK in protest of the vote. The EU leaders, shocked but vigilant, immediately went into action to ensure that similar referendums did not happen in their countries by showing strength in the statements against Brexit’s terms of triggering Article 50. Recently, British High Courts ruled that Members of Parliament must vote in order to trigger Article 50, to much condemnation of the Leave side. Prime Minister Theresa May has been secretive about her negotiations and plans for the UK, but the looming fact remains: Article 50 has yet to be triggered, so the UK is still technically in the EU.
Article 50 and Withdrawal

**Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union**

1. Any Member State may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements. 2. A Member State which decides to withdraw shall notify the European Council of its intention. In the light of the guidelines provided by the European Council, the Union shall negotiate and conclude an agreement with that State, setting out the arrangements for its withdrawal, taking account of the framework for its future relationship with the Union. That agreement shall be negotiated in accordance with Article 218(3) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. It shall be concluded on behalf of the Union by the Council, acting by a qualified majority, after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament. 3. The Treaties shall cease to apply to the State in question from the date of entry into force of the withdrawal agreement or, failing that, two years after the notification referred to in paragraph 2, unless the European Council, in agreement with the Member State concerned, unanimously decides to extend this period. 4. For the purposes of paragraphs 2 and 3, the member of the European Council or of the Council representing the withdrawing Member State shall not participate in the discussions of the European Council or Council or in decisions concerning it. A qualified majority shall be defined in accordance with Article 238(3)(b) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 5. If a State which has withdrawn from the Union asks to rejoin, its request shall be subject to the procedure referred to in Article 49.

In order to leave the European Union, a member state has to trigger Article 50 with the steps enumerated above. The formal process is initiated by the member state.

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12 Source: EUROPA Online
in the European Council, which provides the guidelines for negotiations. The member state and the EC have two years to agree on arrangements for leaving and the relationship once the member state leaves. The withdrawal of the member state does not require ratification by the EP or EC.

In November 2016, the British High Courts ruled that Members of Parliament must vote on whether or not to trigger Article 50, and as a result, start the official negotiations for leaving the European Union. According to data compiled by MPs reported intentions to vote, I conclude that if the vote was held at time of publication, the outcome would be as followed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Row Labels</th>
<th>Count of Intended Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Leave</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUP</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UKIP</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UUP</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>152</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Remain</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lib Dems</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaid Cymru</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDLP</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinn Fein</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNP</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UUP</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>477</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>629</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Appendix, a detailed list of MPs with respective political party and intended vote is available; the data was manually compiled from data reported by BBC News on the votes of MPs and the Cabinets. It does not necessarily reflect the
vote of each constituency region, however, which leaves room for further research into the correlation between the Voting MP and the outcome of his or her constituency. Additionally, there are some missing MPs who did not declare their decision in the matter at the time (629/650). Of the voting intentions articulated, it seems as if Remain would have a majority over Leave based solely on MP intentions to vote, notwithstanding constituency or party pressure.

It is theorised, however, that the referendum result is a signal to MPs to vote accordingly. The overturning of the referendum result in a Parliament vote is unlikely, while possible, but would signal the disregard of the referendum result. Interestingly, the outcome of the Scottish and Northern Irish referendum vote will bring into question the constitutional question of how the UK can overall leave the EU, thereby disregarding the overall votes within two devolved countries and their Parliaments, which would more than likely vote again to Remain.

Triggering Article 50 has brought into question the ideas of “hard” and “soft” Brexit. Currently, there is a majority in Parliament supporting the idea of a “soft” Brexit, whereas some hard-line Eurosceptics would prefer the “hard” version instead. Theoretically, the future of the UK outside of the EU can take several routes. In the following analysis, I will assume the triggering of Article 50 by the UK Parliament, regardless of political party in control. Some possibilities will incorporate a “hard” or “clean” Brexit which severs the tie of Britain and the EU legally; some will represent a “soft” Brexit and a continued relationship in various models.

According to Brexit: Directions for Britain Outside the EU, there are likely topics of importance for the UK exit agreements once Article 50 is triggered. The following tables represent the opinions of the authors. For routes similar to countries with modified agreements with the EU, Britain could look into the
following model options:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Difficulty of Achieving</th>
<th>Overall Priority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regaining full national sovereignty</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership of EFTA</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaving EEA</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium/High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opting out of EU requirements</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium/High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free movement of capital</td>
<td>Medium/High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium/High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End freedom of movement</td>
<td>Medium/High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium/high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significant Access for services</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium/High</td>
<td>Medium/High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No contribution to EU Budget</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium/High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to EU Research Framework program</td>
<td>Low/Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duty-Free access for agricultural goods</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low/Medium</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hard Brexit would include not compromising on key aspects of EU membership, such as the rejection of freedom of movement of people and immigration. However, membership of the EU’s Common Market necessitates such agreements be set in place. Interestingly, withdrawing from the EU would diminish the UK’s ability to make political decisions within the body, thereby limiting the ability to influence future or current policy on further political and economic integration. Having “membership of” and “access to” the single market are also different implications. In regard to trade, some MPs believe that the EU will want to continue trade with the UK, one such official being International Trade Secretary Liam Fox who predicted a free trade agreement between the EU and UK as probable (BBC News 2016). The probable scenario is that the EU and the UK will reach an agreement on access to the EFTA. According to *Brexit: Directions for the Britain Outside of the EU*’s chapter “A Blueprint for Britain: Openness Not Isolation,” it is “abundantly clear that the UK can have a positive economic future either inside or outside the EU” (Buckle, et. al 2015, 42). The stressing of economic openness as

<table>
<thead>
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<th>EU Membership</th>
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opposed to protectionism and isolationism is reflecting in those optimistic suggestions that the UK could thrive outside the EU. Moreover, the arrangement is likely to produce a trade-off between how much access the UK can have to the Common Market and how willing the UK is to participate in and accept the fundamental four freedoms required of member states.
Chapter VI: Conclusions

On June 23, 2016, the British electorate voted on the future of Britain in the European Union. The European Union membership referendum is the culmination of British Euroscepticism. Undoubtedly, Britain has always been a lukewarm partner to the European Union, but now, the UK Parliament must decide if they will commit or finally dismiss themselves from the European project altogether. The projected votes are always split, with Stay edging over Leave by only a few points (average ~46-47% for Stay, 40-43% for Leave), and the end result of the referendum encapsulated the split over the issue. Even still, the Conservative Government led by Former Prime Minister David Cameron and now Prime Minister Theresa May has split over the issue of Brexit. The Labour Party has also showed signs of disarray as a result of leadership contests and in-party fighting. This hot international issue has also involved foreign heads of state from various EU states, the United States, and China, all of whom urge for Britain to remain in the EU. However, the possibility of Britain leaving the EU is very real.

The consequences, while all projected and sometimes exaggerated, align heavily with economics and trade, foreign affairs, and domestic implications. These areas are also the main areas of concern for the pro-Brexit camps, which argue that Britain is versatile enough to thrive outside of the restrictive, anti-democratic European Union. Needless to say, Britain’s versatility will be put to the test if Brexit occurs and Article 50 is triggered by Parliament. The potential of Britain will be thrust into the limelight, as they will need to produce their own opportunities rather than seeking them within the European context. Notably, the access to Free Trade Agreements, European and other markets, and economic benefits of multinational businesses and migrant workers will become a heightened priority.
## Appendix

Data Set 1: Region’s Data from EU Referendum

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Data Set 2: Members of Parliament and Intended Vote: Used to create the in-text chart for predicting how the MPs would vote on triggering Article 50 if Parliament was asked based off personal vote to Leave/Remain.

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